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Annals of the Caledonians.



Annals

OF THE

CALEDONIANS, PICTS, AND SCOTS ;

AND OF

STRATHCLYDE, CUMBERLAND, GALLOWAY,

AND MURRAY.

BY

JOSEPH RITSON, ESQ.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

Antiquam exquirite matrem.

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ANOTHER posthumous work of the late Mr Ritson is now presented to the world, which the editor trusts will not be found less valuable than the publications preceding it.

Lord Hailes professes to commence his interesting *Annals* with the accession of Malcolm III., “because the History of Scotland, previous to that period, is involved in obscurity and fable:” the praise of indefatigable industry and research cannot therefore be justly denied to the compiler of the present volumes, who has extended the supposed limit of authentic history for many centuries, and whose labours, in fact, *end* where those of his predecessor *begin*.

The editor deems it a conscientious duty to give the authors materials in their original shape, “unmixed with baser matter;” which will account for, and, it is hoped, excuse, the trifling repetition and omissions that sometimes occur.

Stockton upon Tees,
Nov. 1, 1828.



ADVERTISEMENT.

WHAT has been, perhaps, too rashly attempted as the subject of these sheets, is a chronological account of the inhabitants of the country known, for the first time, by the name of Caledonia, and, in successive ages, by those of Albany, Pictland, Scotland, and North Britain, from the earliest period which history affords, and from the most ancient and authentic documents which time has preserved, and with that attention to truth and accuracy which integrity and utility require.

The genuine history of the Caledonian Britons, or most ancient, if not indigenious, inhabitants of this country, is to be found in the writings or remains of Tacitus, Dio Cassius, and some few of less note, who were Roman citizens, and wrote in Latin. Of the first we have, entire and perfect, "The Life of Agricola," a work of singular inte-

rest and merit ; the history of Dio is, unfortunately, defective. Some lights, however, are thrown on this distant period, by one Richard, surnamed Corinensis, or of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster, in the fifteenth century, into whose hands had fallen certain collections of a Roman general ; and whose compilation, including a curious ancient map of Britain, was originally printed by Charles [Julius] Bertram, at Copenhagen, in ‘ 1757.’

That of the Picts and Scots, which is known to remain, consists, in the first place, of some meagre notices, in two panegyrics, delivered by one Eumenius, an orator, before the emperors Constantius and Constantine, in the years 292 and 301, and the exploits of the elder Theodosius, in 364, as related by Ammianus Marcellinus ; secondly, of a few passages of the old British and Saxon, or English historians, namely, Gildas, Nennius, Bede, Ethelwerd, Ingulph, the Saxon Chronicle, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, and a few more of later date ; to which may be added the lives of saints Columba and Kentigern ; the *Cronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum et Scottorum*, supposed to have been written in 994, and, with another *Cronica regum Scottorum*, first printed by father Thomas Innes, of the Scots College, Paris, from an ancient manuscript, which

had belonged to William Cecil, lord Burghley, and was then in the king of France's library, by way of appendix to his "Critical Essay on the ancient Inhabitants of Scotland," in two volumes, 8vo, at London, in 1729. The treatise "*De situ Albanæ*," published likewise by Innes, who thought there was "ground to believe that the author of this description was Giraldus Cambrensis," whose words are, "Legimus in historiis et in chronicis antiquorum Britonum, et in gestis et annalibus antiquis Scottorum et Pictorum;" but these, it is most probable, were nothing more than Geoffrey of Monmouth or his followers. It may be likewise proper to notice the *Cronica de Mailros*, printed in *Rerum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum, tomus I. Oxoniæ*, 1684, folio, by William Fulman, and a slight *Chronicon cænobii sanctæ-crucis Edinburgensis*, in the first volume of Whartons *Anglia sacra*; but, before all, the *Annales Ultonienses*, or Ulster-annals, a faithful chronology of great antiquity, a copy whereof was fortunately discovered in the Sloane-library, now in the British Museum, within these few years; but has not been hitherto entirely printed, though, at present, it is believed, with others of equal importance, in a state of preparation.

The only books of any antiquity which profess,

or pretend, to be general histories, or chronicles, of Scotland, are the *Scoti-chronicon* of John de Fordun, a canon of Aberdeen, who flourished about 1377; and the “*Orygynale cronykil of Scotland, [in rime,] be Androw of Wyntown, priowr of sanct Serfis-ynche in Loch-Levyn;*” of which an elegant and beautiful edition, in two volumes, 8vo, was published at London, by the industrious and accurate mr David Macpherson, in 1795: but as both these writers are only remarkable for their ignorance, invention, forgery, and falsehood, neither of them deserves to be consulted, and still less to be quoted or relied on.* That the Scots, how-

* Mr Pinkerton asserts “the character of Fordun, now so well known as a gross forger and falsificator, sets the due seal to his evidence,” (*Enquiry into the history of Scotland*, II. 105,) but nevertheless repeatedly quotes this “gross forger and falsificator,” under the respectable name of William [of] Malmesbury (See volume II. pp. 203, 220), as he elsewhere cites Wynne (11) under the name of Caradoc (I. 96), and Dio, et Eclog. Theodos (I. 216), while he is pillaging Geoffrey of Monmouth, Dempster, Pits, Bois, Lesley, or Usher. How little the amiable lord Hailes was capable of appreciating the merit of history, is manifest from his relying, with implicit confidence, upon Fordun, for important facts which receive no countenance from, or are decisively contradicted by, authentic historians, (so as even to put him upon a footing, in a most interesting period, with Matthew of Westminster, a contemporary writer,) and committing gross mistakes throughout his *Annals*.

ever, had ancient chronicles, long before the time of Fordun, appears from the declaration of the Scottish clergy, in 1309-10, touching the right of king Robert de Brus, in which are these words:—
“ Ut in *antiquis Scottorum gestis magnificis* plenius continetur.” See Robertsons *Index of records*, Ap. p. 5. Whether these were the *chronica*, or *alia chronica*, cited by him, cannot be ascertained. It is, however, remarkable, that he never mentions the name of a single Scottish historian. But that every chronicle was deliberately destroyed by Edward, the conqueror, or usurper, is a groundless calumny; and if these “*antiqua gesta*” were extant in 1310, how happens it that we have no further account of them? Hector Bois, who lived at a later period, is, if possible, a still more wanton forger, and, in every point of view, unworthy of credit; a character which may, with equal truth and justice, be extended to George Buchanan, who imposed the fables of Fordun and Bois upon his countrymen as their genuine history, interpolating, at the same time, a sufficient number of his own. Even bishop Lesley, Maule of Melgum, in his despicable and pretended “*History of the Picts*,” (Edin. 1706, 12mo,) Abercrombie, in the first volume of his “*Scots achievements*,” and doctor

George Mackenzie, adopt the falsehoods of Hector Bois to their utmost extent.

John Bale, bishop of Ossory, enumerates a work, intituled, “*Regnum Scotorum et Pictorum successiones, incerto auctore,*” which he affirms to have left in Ireland when driven out by the papists;* and Usher, at the foot of a letter from Selden, dated September the 14th, 1625, requesting what he had of the history of Scotland and Ireland, notes that he sent him upon this (*inter alia,*) “*Fragment. Scotic. Annal. ad finem Ivonis Carnot.*” † But neither of these pieces has been further heard of: and so much for the history of Scotland.

* C. 10, p. 161.

† Seldens *Works*, II. 1708.

INTRODUCTION.

THE earliest mention of the British islands is undoubtedly that which occurs in the ancient treatise *Of the world*, usually ascribed to Aristotle, and inserted in his works.* For, although a certain writer, of sufficient notoriety for the perversion of fact, and violation of truth, has the confidence to assert, that we find Herodotus calling “the islands of Britain and Ireland *Cassiterides*, a name,” he adds, “implying *the iles of tin*,”† nothing can be more false.

* C. 3. They are here called *Albion*, (Αλβιον, not Αλονίων, or Αλβίων, as, afterward, by Ptolemy and Marcianus Heracleota,) and *Ierne*. Buchanan imputes this tract to Theophrastus; and Muretus, to some anonymous writer of the same age. It is dedicated to king Alexander. (See Ushers *Antiquitates*, fo. p. 378.)

† *Enquiry*, I. 1. “Κασσιτερον,” he says, “is derived from *κασσα*, *merctrix*,” an etymology as ridiculous as his quotation

The words of this venerable historian are expressly, "I have nothing certain to relate concerning the western bounds of Europe . . . I know as little of the islands called *Cassiterides*, from the tin which is thence imported among us."* So far from fixing the name of these islands upon those of Britain and Ireland, he candidly acknowledges that he knew not where they were; nor does any less ancient Greek or Roman writer, since the British islands were well known, ever call them the *Cassiterides*, of which the number and situation, as described by all, are totally incompatible with any such idea. Tacitus, the earliest writer who attempts to describe the natives of Caledonia,† or the north of

is unfaithful, and his Greek characters corrupt. Rufus Festus Avienus, having mentioned Iberia, says—

—————" *Cassius inde mons tumet.*

Et Graja ab ipso lingua *Casiterum* prius
Stannum vocavit."

(*Ora Maritima*, v. 259.)

* B. III.

† Whencesoever this name may have come, and whatever may be its etymology, certain it is, that *Calydon* was an ancient and famous city of *Ætolia*, in Greece; whence the "*Melæagra Calidona*" of Lucan (B. VI. v. 366); the "*amnis Calydonius*" of Ovid (*Met.* B. VIII. v. 727); and the "*Silva Calydonia*," and "*Fretum Calydonium*," of Cluver. The "*Calidoniæ Sylvæ*" of Florus (B. III. c. 10) is supposed to have been in Lincolnshire. "Ad Aufonam," says Richard of Cirencester,

Britain, knew nothing of its first inhabitants, whether natives of its own, or brought over, as he observes, among barbarians, is seldom found. The habits of their bodies, he proceeds, are various ; and thence these arguments : for the red hair of those inhabiting Caledonia, and their great limbs, assert their origin to be Germanic.* The swarthy coun-

“ incolebant *Coitanni*, in tractu sylvis obsito, qui, ut *aliæ Brittonum Sylvæ*, *Caledonia* fuit appellata,” (B. I. c. 6, § 30). He has another “ *Calidonia Sylva*,” *aliis*, “ *Anterida*,” (now *Andredeswald*,) in Kent ; and a third, “ *ad occidentem Vararis*,” beyond the Murray firth, now Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness (*Ibi*. § 52). Geoffrey of Monmouth, likewise, in his *Life of Merlin the Wild*, has a fourth “ *Nemus Caledon*,” in the south-west of Scotland, or Strath-Clyde. Though Tacitus does not expressly call the people *Caledonii*, both Martial and Lucan have “ *Caledonios Britannos*,” and Dio and Ptolemy, *καληδονιοι*, of which *Caledonii*, and not *Caledones*, is the proper translation. No writer before Tacitus mentions *Caledonia*, nor does he himself mention *Caledonii*, which, in fact, is first used by Lucan.

* This is by no means conclusive, since these identical circumstances are adduced by ancient authors as descriptive of the Celts or Gauls : Diodorus, B. V. c. 2 ; Virgil, *Æneid*, B. VIII. v. 659 ; Livy, B. XXXVIII. c. 17 ; Silius, B. IV. c. 200, B. XVI. v. 471 ; Ammianus Marcellinus, B. XV. c. 12, 20 ; Claudian upon *Rufinus* ; for their red or yellow hair ; and Polybius, B. II. c. 2 ; Cæsar, B. II. c. 30 ; Diodorus, B. V. c. 2 ; Ammianus, B. XV. c. 12 ; Pausanias, B. X. c. 10 ; Florus, B. I. c. 13, for their superior size. The conjecture of Tacitus, however, was sufficient authority for Mr Pinkerton to pronounce that “ The Caledonians of the north”

tenance of the Silures, (who inhabited what is now called South-Wales,) and their curled hair, for the most part, and their position against Spain, induce a belief, he thinks, that they were ancient Iberians, who had passed over and occupied these seats. They who are next to the Gauls are likewise similar to them, either by the force of original influence remaining, or by those countries running [opposite,] the position of heaven hath given habit to bodies; to one, nevertheless, estimating universally, it is credible that the Gauls have occupied the neighbouring soil. You perceive their sacred rites, by the influence of superstitions; their speech is not much different; the same audacity in demanding dangers; and the same terror in refusing them, when they happen. The Britons, nevertheless, evince more fierceness, as those whom a long peace hath never rendered effeminate: for we learn that the Gauls likewise have flourished in wars: by and by, sloth, with idleness, hath entered, their valour at once and liberty

were also "Germans from Scandinavia." (*Enquiry*, I. 103.) It is manifest, at the same time, that Agricola could learn nothing positive on this subject; nor does Calgacus, the Caledonian general, appear to know anything of either Scythia or Scandinavia, and even regarded the people as *aborigines*, as he expressly tells his army "they were the last of the Britons, there being no nation beyond them;" at least, it is what Tacitus makes him say.

being lost, which has happened to those of the Britons formerly conquered : the rest remain such as the Gauls have been. Their [military] strength is in their foot : some nations, also, fight in a chariot : the chief person is the driver ; his dependents fight. Formerly they obeyed kings ; now they are drawn by princes in factions and fancies : nor is anything against the most warlike nations more useful for us, than that they do not consult in common. A convention, with two or three cities, to repel the common danger, is rare : so that, while they fight singly, all are defeated.*

“ Of the Britons,” as Dio relates, “ the two most ample nations are the Caledonians and Mæatæ : for the names of the rest refer, for the most part, to these. The Mæatæ inhabit near the very wall which divides the island in two parts ; the Caledonians are after those.† Each of them inhabit mountains, very rugged, and wanting water, and also desert fields, full of marshes : they have neither castles nor cities, nor dwell in any : they live on milk, and by hunting, and maintain themselves by the fruits of trees : for fishes, of which there is a very great and numberless quantity, they never taste : they dwell naked in tents, and without shoes : they use

* *Vita Agricole*, § 11, &c.

† He alludes to the wall of Antoninus.

wives in common, and whatever is born to them they bring up. In the popular state they are governed, as for the most part: they rob on the highway most willingly: they war in chariots: horses they have, small and fleet; their infantry, also, are as well most swift at running, as most brave in pitched battle. Their arms are a shield and a short spear, in the upper part whereof is an apple of brass, that, while it is shaken, it may terrify the enemies with the sound: they have likewise daggers. They are able to bear hunger, cold, and all afflictions; for they merge themselves in marshes, and there remain many days, having only their head out of water: and in woods are nourished by the barks and roots of trees. But a certain kind of food they prepare for all occasions, of which, if they take as much as 'the size' of a single bean, they are in nowise ever wont to hunger or thirst."*

It would seem, from Richard of Cirencesters *commentariolum* and map, that, about the year 100, Caledonia was reduced to a small relick, between the Roman province of Vespasiana, or the Murray-firth, and the Mare Orcadum, including the present shires of Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross. In this little angle are the poor remains of the ancient Caledonii, hither driven, it would seem, from time

* L. 76, c. 12.

to time, by the Romans ; who, however, were afterward themselves driven backward by that wretched remnant out of Vespasiana. After this loss, and to repel further incursion of the reduced, but valiant, horde of Caledonians, miserable relick of former ages, the Romans erected a turf-wall on the northern march of the province which they had thus lost ; and, in process of time, being still more unfortunate, another at a considerable distance to the south ; both which will be elsewhere more particularly mentioned.

It is, doubtless, if not absolutely manifest, at least highly probable, that the whole island of Britain was originally peopled by the Celts, or Gauls ; whom even Tacitus himself allows to have at first occupied the neighbouring coasts, and whom, he says, the Britons universally resembled in their religion, language, and manners. A hasty and unfounded opinion of Edward Lhuyd, the Welsh linguist, that the original inhabitants of Britain were those he chooses to denominate *Guydhels*, or *Guydhelians*, whom he presumes to have been inhabitants of Gaul before they came into this island, and, in process of time, to have been driven out by another people, apparently also from Gaul,* seems to

* *Welsh prefacc.* He was, unquestionably, a man of uncommon industry, but had certainly a most weak and cloudy

have suggested to mr Pinkerton, that “ as the south part of Britain was first peopled from Gaul, by *Gael*, who were afterward expelled by *Cumri* [*Cimbri*, or *Cimmerii*, one of his two vast divisions of the *Celts*,] from Germany ; so there is reason to infer, that the north part of Britain was first peopled by *Cumri*, from present Jutland.”

A fair, no doubt, and rational conclusion !

“ These *Cimbri*,” he says, “ the first inhabitants of Scotland that can be traced, were of one great stock with the *Cumri*, or *Welch* [*Welsh*] ; but the *Welch*,” it seems, “ are not their descendants, but the remains of the *Cimbri* of South-Britain, who passed from the opposite coast of Germany, and drove the *Gael*, or Gauls, the first inhabitants, into Ireland.”* The whole of his system, however, is merely the result of a wild, extravagant imagination, perfectly *Celtic*, according to his own defi-

head ; so that it is frequently difficult to comprehend his meaning. Most, indeed, of the Welsh writers, are the most ridiculous people in the world. Lewis’s *History of Britain* contains more lies and nonsense than even Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hector Bois, or Geoffrey Keating ; and his editor, Hugh Thomas, makes Britain receive, at different periods, three distinct nations, the *Gomros*, *Britains*, and *Albions*, each of which, he says, gave it their proper name. (*Introduction*, p. 46, 71.)

* *Enquiry*, I. 15, 16.

nition, grounding its vagaries on falsehood, and supporting them by contemptible cavils, and gross misrepresentation. The only people called *Cim̃bri* are well known, from Cæsar, Tacitus, Plutarch, and other ancient historians, to have been a German nation, on the Euxine sea, never mentioned or heard of, anterior to their invasion of Gaul and Italy, 70 years before the Christian era, in the latter of which countries they were nearly exterminated, in a great battle, by the consul Marius ; who, so far from settling in Britain, never, so far as we know, had the remotest connection with it, before, at least, the year 449, when the Anglo-Saxons, whose paternal seat was the Cimbric *Chersonesus* ; and who, from that circumstance, it is probable, are by some called *Cimbri*, arrived there with their confederates. Ptolemy mentions them about the year 141 ;* neither were they the same people, nor had

* If any *Cimbri* ever came into Britain, it must have been in the company, and under the name, of the Old-Saxons, who, according to Stephanus Etheicographus, lived formerly in the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*. (See likewise Alfreds translation of Orosius, p. 245.) *Cymru*, for *Cambria*, *Cymry*, for *Cambri*, *Cymraeg*, for *Cambrica*, [*s. lingua*], and *Gymro*, for *Wallus*, occur in *Leges Wallicæ*, p. 6, &c. (anno 692.) The words *Cymru* (Wales), *Nghymra*, and *Cymro* (Welsh), are frequent in these laws ; but a native Welshman (*ingenius Wallus*) is repeatedly called *Bonhoddig can hwyawel*. *Cym-*

they the least connection with the *Cimmerii*, who belong to a different situation, and a much remoter period; nor is the name of either *Gael* or *Cumri* mentioned by any but comparatively modern writers, the one as that of the present Welsh, the other as that of the native Irish, or highland Scots, not one of which knows how they came by it. Nothing, in fact, can be more impudent.*

mer has apparently some relation to bastardy; and hence the Welsh may have obtained that appellation by way of opprobrium. (See Glos. in Ll. Wal. *Cymmerijad*.) The Saxons called them Wilisc, or Wylisc (*Ll. Inæ*, 32, 54); Wealas, Wealh, Walsc (*Sax. Chro.* 25): Wealh, stranger, alien, foreigner (*Lyes Dictionary*). If *Wallia* be a modern name, a poem ascribed to Taliesin (*British remains*, p. 126) is a forgery.

* That *Cambri* or *Cumbri* (let it be spelled as it may) is an ancient name of the present Welsh, as *Cambria* or *Cumbria* is of their country, will be readily admitted; but it is, at the same time, manifest, that the latter name was never used as synonymous with *Britain* or *Albion*, or, in fact, for anything more than modern *Wales*, *Cumberland*, or *Strath-Clyde*. It is, therefore, inferrible that these names had been given to, or assumed by, this people: since neither Gildas nor Nennius, though both Britons, knew the term *Cambri*, *Cumbri*, or *Cambria*; nor were the refugee Britons of Armorica ever so called. Fabian Ethelwerd, a historian of the ninth century, is the first who calls the Welsh *Cumbri*. Geoffrey of Monmouth says that *Cambria*, now called *Wales*, was so named from *Camber*, one of the sons of Brutus; "and hence," he adds, "that people [not the Britons in general, but THAT PEOPLE ONLY]

The island, at a certain period according to Richard of Cirencester, was divided by the Romans into six parts, or provinces: Prima, Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, [Valentia,] and Vespasiana. "Maxima," he says, "arises from the furthest borders of Flavia, belongs to the lower part of [Severus's] wall, which runs across through the whole island, and looks upon those of the north. A space," he adds, "between both this and another, which by the emperor Antoninus Pius, between Forth and Clyde, was extracted, Valentia [or Valentiana] occupies the wall. Vespasiana lay still further north, between the wall of Antoninus and the Murray-firth.*

How long or effectually either the first or second of these walls answered the purposes for which they had been from time to time constructed, it is im-

still call themselves, in their British tongue, *Cambri*." That this name, however, has any, the least, connection, with the *Cimbri* of Germany, (though it be admitted that Richard of Cirencester has placed a small body of people so called in present Devonshire; and asks, "whether they have given them the modern name of *Wallia*, or the origin of the *Cimbri* be more ancient," B. I. c. 6, § 16,) or the *Cimmerii* of Asia, is just as true as that those two nations were one and the same people, and received these names from their common ancestor, *Gomer*.

* B. I. c. 6, § 2.

possible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy or precision. Hadrian's turf-wall between the Tyne and the Esk, proves that, in 121, the Britons had then recovered all their pristine territory, down to the north side of that erection ; but, about twenty years afterward, the Britons were again driven beyond the old chain of Agricola, the isthmus, that is, between the opposite firths of Clyde and Forth. In the time of Severus, nevertheless, they had once more recovered it.

During the period in which nearly the whole of the ancient Caledonia was divided into Roman provinces, from Severus's turf-wall, northward to that of Antoninus, was the province of Valentiana,* the

* “ These regions (which, as it were, delighted with the embrace of the ocean, avoid the more narrow [straights], as elsewhere, and that on account of these most rapid firths, which are poured out, the Forth, that is, and the Clyde,) I take for that province which, by the victorious Roman battalion, recalled under the emperor Theodosius, and in honour of the emperor then sitting at the helm of the empire, is supposed to be called *Valentiana*.” (Richard of Cirencester, B. I. c. 6, § 42.)—The recall of this legion is mentioned by Claudian :

“ Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.”

De bello Getico, v. 416.

British inhabitants whereof, [from] their situation between the walls, were called *Mæatæ* ; and beyond this, from the isthmus northward, to what was then called the river *Longus*, now *Loch-Luag*, or *Loch-Long*, on the west, and the *Varar Æstuarium*, or *Murray-firth*, on the east, was that of *Vespasiana*, otherwise *Thule*.* North of this was *Caledonia*,

(The legion came, o'er distant Britons plac'd,
Which bridles the fierce Scot, and bloodless figures,
With iron mark'd, views in the dying Pict.)

* “ The *Attacoti* inhabited the banks of the *Clyde*, a nation sometime, heretofore, formidable to all Britain. Here is seen the greatest lake, to which formerly [was] given the name *Lyncalidor*, at the mouth whereof the city *Alcluith* [*Al-clyd*, now *Dunbritton* or *Dumbarton*], in short time, having received by lot a name from the general *Theodosius*, who had recovered the province occupied by the barbarians ; with this nothing could be compared, as that which, after the other circumjacent provinces being broken, sustained the empire of the enemies to the last. This province was called, in honour of the *Flavian* family, to which the emperor *Domitian* owed his origin, and under whom it was expugned, *Vespasiana* ; and, unless I be deceived, under the last emperors, it was named *Thule*, of which *Claudian*, the poet, makes mention in these verses :

—“ *incauit Pictorum sanguine Thule.*”

(*Thule*, by blood of Picts grew hot :)

but not so long the Romans held [it], under the eagle, at their will, that both the names and the subjection of the same should become known to their posterity.” (*Ibid.* § 49, 50.)

which the Romans either could not obtain, or did not desire, or of which, at any rate, they were never in possession.* The inhabitants of CALEDONIA were

In the *Notitia*, mention is made of “*Legio Palatina I Britoncs scniorecs ; Auxilia Palatina VI Attecotti juniores Gallicani.*” This book seems to have been the “*vetustum quodam volumen,*” which Richard appears to have seen, wherein a great number of such-like entries are made (*Ibi.* § 3). These *Attacotti* are first mentioned, by Ammianus Marcellinus, along with the Picts, Saxons, and Scots : “*Pictos, Saxones, Scottos et Attacottos, Britannos ærumnis vexavisse continuis.*” (L. 26 :) Again : “*Eo tempore (364) Picti itemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes multa populabantur.*” (L. 27.)

* “*Although,*” as Richard of Cirencester observes, “*all Britain, beyond the isthmus, may not improperly be called CALEDONIA, yet have the Caledonians their seat beyond the Varar, whence a line drawn [across] shews, with sufficient accuracy, the boundary of the Roman empire in Britain: the hither part of the island truly, at one time and another, was by them possessed, the rest being occupied by the barbarous Britons Hitherto, and to those going forward, ancient monuments of histories give a certain light; passing over, however, the river Varar, the light being extinct, we are employed, as it were, in obscurity; and, although it be not unknown to us that altars have been erected there for the limits of the Roman empire, and that Ulysses, tossed to and fro, by tempest and waves, here performed his vows; if so be, the condensed woods, with the perpetual rocks and stones of the mountains, prohibit us from further scrutiny.*” (B. I. c. 6, § 51.)

Solinus, it is true, speaking of the Caledonic angle, says :

the *Albani*, *Caledonii*, *Cantæ*, *Carnabii*, *Carnonacæ*, *Catini*, *Cerones*, *Creones*, *Epidii*, *Logi*, and *Mertæ* : their rivers, *Abona* (the firth of Dornoch, or Taine, (*Ila*) Helmsdale), *Itys* (Loch Etyf), *Longus* (Loch-Aber), *Loxa* (the firth of Cromartie), *Nabæus* (the Naver), *Straba* (Strathy, or Hop-water) : their bay was *Volsas* (Loch-Broom, or rather the bay before it) : their mountain, *Oxellum* : their promontories, *Epidium* (the head of the mull of Kentyre, near Danavarty), *Orcas* (Dunnet-head), *Penoxullum* (Tarbat-ness), *Verubrium* (Noss-head), *Virvedrum* [or] *Caledoniæ extrema* (Duncans-bay-head). Of *VESPASIANA*, the inhabitants were, the *Albani*, *Attacoti*, *Horestii* (in Fife), *Texalii* (the people of Buchan), *Vacomagi*, *Veturiones*, *Venricones* : their cities, or towns, *Alauna*, *Banatia*, *Divana*, [*Texalorum*] (Aberdeen), *Lindum*, *Orrea*, *Ptoroton*, *Tamea*, *Theodosia*, *Tuessis*, *Victoria* : their rivers, *Æsica* (South Esk), *Celnius* (Doeveran), *Deva* (Dee), *Drya*, *Ituna* (Ythy), *Tavus* (Tay),

“ In quo recessu *Ulyxem Caledoniæ* adpulsum manifestat ara Græcis literis scripta votum.” [In which recess, an altar, inscribed with Greek letters, manifests that Ulysses, driven to Caledonia, vowed.] (C. 22.) Nothing, however, is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, which is devoted to the ten years voyage of Ulysses, nor by any other ancient authority ; nor were Greek letters, in fact, known in the time of Ulysses, who, in all probability, never existed.

Jena (Creech), *Nidus* (Nid, or Nith), *Tina* (North Esk), *Tuessis* (Spey), *Varar* (Fara): their lake was *Lincalidor lacus* (Loch-Lomond): their bay, *Lelanonius sinus* (Loch-Fyne): their firth, *Varar æstuarium* (the Murray-firth, or firth of Beaulieu): their promontory, *Taxalorum, or Taizalum* (Kinaird-head): their mountain, *Grampius mons* (Mormound, Buchan). In VALENTIANA, the people were, *Damni*, *Gadeni*, *Novantæ*, *Ottadini*, *Selgovæ*: their cities, or towns, *Bremenuro*, *Colanu*, *Coria*, *Corbantum*, *Curia*, *Leucopibia* (Whithern), *Olbcella*, *Porbantum*, *Rerigonum*, *Trimontium*, *Vanduaria*: their rivers, *Alauna* (the Alne), *Clota* (the Clyde), *Deva* (the Dee), *Tued* (the Tweed), *Vidagora*: their bays, or firths, *Abravanus sinus* (Glenluce-bay), *Clotta æstuarium* (the firth of Clyde), *Ituna æstuarium*, *Navantum chersonesus* (Rins of Galloway), *Rerigonius sinus* (Loch-Ryan): their mountain, *Uxilla mons* (the Ochel-hills).

ANNALS OF THE CALEDONIANS.

ANNALES CALEDONIORUM.

L. Ad occidentem Vararis habitabant Caledonii, propriè sic dicti, quorum regionis partem tegebat immensa illa Caledonia sylva. Littus incolebant minores quidam populi, ex quorum [numero] ultra Vararem et ad Loxam fluvium habitabant Cant[æ], in quorum finibus promuntorium Penoxullum. Huic ordine proximus est fluvius Abona, ejusdemque accolæ Logi: hinc Ila fluvius, et ad illum siti Carnabii, Brittonum extremi, qui ab Ostorio proprætore subjugati, jugum Romanum indignè ferentes, adscitis in societatem Cantis, ut referunt traditiones, trajectoque mari, ibi sedem eligunt: in varia heic promuntoria sese extendit Brittania, quorum primum antiquis dictum Virvedrum, tum Verubrium, aut extremitas Caledoniæ.*

* Ricardi Corinensis, *De Situ Britanniae*, Lib. I. c. 6, § 52, 53, 54.

ANNALS OF THE CALEDONIANS.

L. To the west of the Varar inhabited the Caledonians, properly so called, of whose country that immense Caledonian wood covered part. Certain less [considerable] people inhabited the shore, from whose number, beyond the Varar, at the river *Loxa*, inhabited the *Cantæ*, in whose borders is the promontory *Penoxullum*. To this, next in order, is the river *Abona*, and the inhabitants near it, the *Logi*: hence the river *Ila*, and thereat [were] seated the *Carnabii*, the furthest of the Britons, who having been subjugated by the proprætor *Ostorius*, bearing indignantly the Roman yoke, the *Cantæ* having admitted [them] into their society, as traditions relate, and the sea being passed over, there chose themselves a seat: Britain here extends itself into various promontories, of which the first [was] by the ancients called *Virvedrum*, then *Verubrium*, or the extremity of *Caledonia*.



LXXX. Tertius expeditionum annus [Julii *Agricolæ*] novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad *Taum* (æstuario nomen est) nationibus; qua for-

midine territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum sævis tempestatibus exercitum, lacescere non ausi: ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac fuga desertum. Crebræ eruptiones: nam adversus moras obsidionis, annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque præsidio, irritis hostibus, eoque desperantibus quia soliti plerumque damna æstatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum æstate atque hyeme juxta pellebantur.*

LXXX. The third year of the expeditions of Julius Agricola discovered new people, the nations being laid waste to the Tay (it is the name of the firth); † by which dread the enemies being dismay-

* Taciti *Vita J. Agricolæ*, c. 22.

† This word, as being, apparently, from the Latin *frctum*, is, by English writers generally, or, it may be, constantly, spelled *frith*, as most agreeable to its etymology. The Scots, however, for a number of centuries, and even to this day, both speak and write *firth*, as do likewise all the navigators of their coasts and seas:—the *firth* of Forth, the *firth* of Clyde, the Murray *firth*, the Pentland *firth*. Even the northern English, who certainly understand the propriety of their native

ed, dared not to molest the army, although pestered with boisterous tempests ; and, moreover, there was time for erecting forts. Skilful men observed, that no other commander had ever chosen the conveniences of his stations more sagely ; no fort founded by Agricola was either won by the force of enemies, or abandoned by treaty or flight. [The garrisons made] frequent eruptions ; for, against the delays of a siege, they were strengthened by annual supplies, so, the winter being there without fear, and every one in a garrison to himself, the enemies being nothing worth, and therefore despairing, because, being wont for the most part to compensate the losses of the summer by the events of the winter, they were equally repelled in summer and winter.



LXXXI. Quarta æstas obtinendis quæ percurerat insumpta : ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Glota et Bodotria diversi ma-

tongue much better than a London cockney, constantly speak of the *Solway firth*. And so, upon due deliberation, it has been determined to be printed in the course of this compilation.

ris æstu per immensum revecti, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur : quod tum præsidiiis firmabatur : atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis vult in aliam insulam hostibus.*

LXXXI. The fourth summer being employed in settling those parts which he had overrun : and if the bravery of the armies, and the glory of the Roman name would have suffered it, a boundary had been found in Britain itself. For the Clyde and the Forth, being carried back by the tide of a different sea, through an immense tract, are divided by a narrow space of land, which was now secured by garrisons, and the enemy being, as it were, driven back into another island.

LXXXII. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis præliis domuit : eamque partem Britanniae quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem.†

* Tacitus *Vita J. Agricole*, c. 23.

† Ibid. c. 24.

LXXXII. In the fifth year of the expeditions, having passed over in the first ship, he subdued nations, to that time unknown, in frequent at once and successful engagements; and furnished with forces that part of Britain which looks upon Hibernia, rather in hope than fear.

LXXXIII. Ceterum æstate qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplas civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium, et infesta hostili exercitu itinera timebantur, prius classe exploravit. Britannos, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tanquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnasse ultro, castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant: regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius, quam pellerentur, specie prudentium ignavi admonebant, cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos: ac ne superante numero, et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu inces-
sit.*

Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio.

* Ibid. c. 25.

universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte aggressi inter somnum ac trepidationem, cæsis vigilibus, irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabant, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus, et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem : et propinqua luce fulsere signa : ita ancipiti malo terri Britanni : et Romanis redit animus, ac securi pro salute, de gloria certabant : ultro quin etiam irrupere : et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis prælium, donec pulsii hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his ut tulisse opem, illis ne eguisse auxilio viderentur : quod nisi paludes et silvæ fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus : nihil virtuti suæ invium : penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendumque tandem Britannia terminum continuo præliorum cursu fremebant : atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. At Britanni non virtute sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, cœtibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent : atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.*

* Ibid. cc. 26, 27.

LXXXIII. As to the rest ; in the summer in which he began the sixth year of his function, he first of all explored the great cities, placed beyond the Forth, because the movements of all the nations further off, and adverse excursions with a hostile army, were feared. . . . The fleet, as was heard from the captives, being seen, astonished the Britons, as if, the secret recess of their sea being opened, the last refuge to the vanquished should be shut up. The various people inhabiting Caledonia, being turned to their hands and arms, with great preparation, and greater fame, as the manner is concerning things unknown, to have fought at their will, having assailed the forts, that, challenging, they had given fear ; and the cowardly, in the disguise of the prudent, admonished that it was proper to return beyond the Forth, and to depart quietly, rather than that they should be driven out, when, in the meantime, he knew that the enemy was about to rush upon them with a great many forces ; and lest, by the number surpassing, and the knowledge of places, he should be surrounded, he himself also marched with his army divided into three parts.

Which, when known to the enemy, their course being suddenly changed, all of them having attacked the ninth legion, as the most weak, by night, between sleep and fear, the sentinels being slain, they

rushed in, and already fought in the very camp ; when Agricola, having learned the march of the enemies from his scouts, and pursued their footsteps, orders the swiftest of his horse and foot to charge the backs of the combatants ; instantly from every one began to be added a shout, and the ensigns glittered in the approaching light : so that the Britons being terrified by the two-faced evil, courage returns to the Romans, and secure of safety, they contended for glory : moreover, they willingly rushed forward, and there was a cruel battle in the very entries of the gates, until the enemy being beaten off, and each army exerting itself, these, that they might appear to bring help ; those, not to desire assistance : but unless the marshes and forests had protected the fugitives, that victory would have ended the war.

With the firmness and fame whereof, the army being proud, nothing, they exclaimed, was insurmountable to their valour : now was the time to penetrate into Caledonia, and find, at length, the limit of Britain, by a continued series of battles : and those who just now were wary and wise, were after the event forward and high-flown. But the Britons, thinking the victory not gained by valour, but by accident, and the skill of the commander, remitted nothing of their annoyance, that, not the

less, they arm their youth, transfer their wives and children into safe places, sanction the conspiracy of their cities by engagements and sacrifices : and so, their minds being irritated, each side departed.

LXXXIV. Initio ætatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit ; quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambiciosè, neque per lamenta rursus ac mœrorem muliebriter tulit, et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur præmissa classe, quæ pluribus locis prædata, magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium* per-

* This *mons Grampius*, though mentioned no more by Tacitus, nor by any other ancient historian, except Richard of Cirencester may be allowed that appellation, is generally supposed to be the range of mountains now called the Grampian hills ; by Hector Bois, Grantzbain ; by old Scottish writers, Drum-Alban ; The mounth, or Cairn of mounth : but, in fact, the mount Grampius noticed by Tacitus, and twice, at least, mentioned by Richard, is described by the latter in these words : “ Hic quoque arduum atque horrendum jugum Grampium offendimus, quod provinciam istam [Vespasianam scilicet] bifariam secabat : atque hæc eadem erat regio quæ, à commisso inter Agricolaum et Galgacum prælio, Romanis utilissimo, famam in annalibus habet insignem : hic vires eorum veteresque

venit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnæ prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et fœderibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta millia armatorum aspiciabantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juvenus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes : cum inter plures duces

castramentationes hodieque magnitudo ostendit mœnium : nam in loco ubi ingens supradictum prælium habitum erat, quidam ordinis nestri [*monachi*, scilicet] hanc viam emensi, affirmant se immania vidisse castra, aliaque argumenta Taciti relationem confirmantia.” (L. I. c. 6, § 43.)

In his itinerary he says . . . “ *incipit Vespasiana. Alauna m. p. XII. Lindo VIII. Victoria VIII. ad Hiernam VIII. Orrea XIII. ad Tavum XVIII. ad Æsicam XXIII. ad Tinam VIII. Devana XXIII. ad Itunam XXIII. AD MONTEM GRAMPIUM m. p.*” (L. I. c. 7, p. 38.)

In his map, (the most ancient existing of any part of Britain,) he makes the “GRAMPIUS MONS,” or Grampian mount, consistently with his verbal descriptions, to run from the *Taixalorum promontorium*, (now Kynairds-head,) in the province of that people, (now Buchan, in the shire of Aberdeen,) in a south-westerly direction, to what he calls *Lincolidor lacus*, now Loch-Lomond. David Macpherson, however, thinks Richard mistaken in extending the *mons Grampius* into a range of mountains, of which there is at present no vestige or appearance, contending that it is a solitary hill in Buchan, “ called Mormound.”

virtute et genere præstans, nomine Calgacus,* apud contractam multitudinem prælium poscentem, in hunc modum locutus fertur . . . †

* *Galloglach*, in Irish, signifies a heavy-armed man. Possibly the Britons might have the same, or some similar word, and thence *Calgacus*, as in Brotiers edition, as others read *Gal-gacus*. According to the ancient treatise *De situ Albanix*, “omnes Hybernenses et Scotti generaliter *Gaiiheli* dicuntur a quodam eorum primævo duce *Gaiihelglus* vocato.” (Innes, p. 771.) In the old and fabulous Welsh *Triads*, he is called *Gaulauc ap Liennauc*; though Taliesin calls him *Cwallawc*. (See Lewis, p. 100, 101.) The Scots, however, pretend that his true name was *Galdus*; and, according to a learned gentleman, Mackenzie of Delvin, *Calgacus* is composed of these two Highland appellations, *Gald* and *Cachach*; the first being his proper name, the other, which signifies *præliosus*, an adjection to it from the many battles he fought. See Gordons *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 40. “The moor,” says this writer, “on which this camp stands is called to this day *Galdachan*, or *Galgachan-Ross-moor*.”

† Tacitus has here inserted his pretended speech of Calgacus at length, as if, in the polite apology of the speaker of the house of commons, he had obtained a copy to prevent mistakes. If, however, he actually delivered any such harangue, it must have been couched in the British tongue; to which, though his army, it is probable, understood no other, the Roman soldiers, no doubt, were perfect strangers. It were to be wished that we had the genuine narrative with which the good man Agricola, like king Grandgousier, was, in all probability, wont to entertain his daughter, son-in-law, and grandchildren, after his return from Britain; where Tacitus certainly never came; but the latter, having a good hand at his pen, has work-

Agricola [oratione sua finita] instinctos ruentes-que [milites] ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent ; equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur ; legiones pro vallo steterè, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium si pel-lerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterant : ita ut pri-mum agmen æquo, ceteri per acclive jugum con-nexi velut insurgerent ; media campi covinarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agri-cola, superante hostium multitudine, veritus ne si-mul in frontem, simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies fu-tura erat, et arcessandas plerique legiones admone-

ed up, in the manner of Livy, a species of historical romance : for, most assuredly, Calgacus never uttered that speech, or anything like it. The Britons, however, as we are told, re-ceived this harangue with alacrity, and testified their applause in the barbarian manner with songs, and yells, and dissonant shouts : and now the several divisions were in motion, and the glittering of arms was beheld, while the most daring and impetuous were hurrying to the front, and the two armies were forming in line of battle ; when Agricola, to be even with him, took that critical opportunity to make a rival speech, which the ingenious historian gives word for word, as it was, doubt-less, dictated by his father-in-law. Both, however, are master-pieces of eloquence.

bant, promptior in spem, et firmus adversis, dimisso equo, pedes ante vexilla constitit.

Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur : simul constautia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris,* missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere : donec Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent : quod et ipsis vetustate militiæ exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus : nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in aperto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare ; et tractis qui in æquo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem cœpere ; ceteræ cohortes, æmulatione et impetu commistæ, proximos quosque cedere : ac plerisque semineccs aut integri festinatione victoriæ relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmæ fugere, covinari peditum se prælio miscuere ; et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inæqualibus locis hærebant : minimeque equestris ea pugnæ facies erat, cum in gradu stantes simul equorum corporibus

* The Gauls wore arms of the same kind. See Livy, B. XXII. c. 46 ; B. XXXVIII. c. 17 and 31 ; and Polybius. B. II. c. 2.

impellerentur : ac sæpe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incurabant. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes, summa collium iusserant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paullatim et circumire terga vincentium cœperant : ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quatuor equitum alas ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset ; quantoque ferocius accurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum : transvectæque præcepto ducis à fronte pugnantium alæ, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum : sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblati aliis, trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervæ armatorum paucioribus terga præstare, quidam inermes ultro ruere, ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus : et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquarunt, collecti, primos sequentium incautos et locorum ignaros circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola, validas et expeditas cohortes, indaginis modo, et sicubi arctiora erant, partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rur-

sus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari, et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere : finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit : cæsa hostium ad decem millia : nostrorum trecenti quadraginta cecidere. Et nox quidem gaudio prædaque læta victoribus : Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos, ac per iram ultro incendere : eligere latabras, et statim relinquere : miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein sperare : aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, sæpius concitari : satisque constabat sævisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tanquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriæ latius aperuit : vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius :*

* Rolt, the historian, author of *The Conduct of the Powers of Europe*, observes, that (in 1746) “ the Duke of Cumberland issued a proclamation for disarming such of the clans as refused to surrender themselves ; a camp was established at Fort Augustus, whence several detachments were sent to ruin and depopulate the rebellious country ; where the devastation was so great, that, for the space of fifty miles, neither house, man, nor beast, was to be seen ; which was the entire subjugation of this fierce and intractable people, whom neither the Romans nor Saxons could reduce, and who had often bid defiance to their native kings.” (IV. 212.)—Upon this atrocious massacre, the following admirable and pathetic elegy was composed by

quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugæ vestigia, neque usquam conglobari hostes comperitum, et exacta jam æstate spargi bellum nequibat,

that excellent poet, dr Tobias Smollett [and which he aptly entitles *The Tears of Scotland*] :—

“ Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn
 Thy banish'd peace, thy laurel torn !
 Thy sons, for valour long renown'd,
 Lye slaughter'd on their native ground ;
 Thy hospitable roofs no more
 Invite the stranger to the door,
 In smoaky ruins sunk they lye,
 The monuments of cruelty.

The wretched owner sees afar
 His all become the prey of war,
 Bethinks him of his babes and wife,
 Then smites his breast, and curses life !
 Thy swains are famish'd on the rocks,
 Where late they fed their wanton flocks ;
 Thy ravish'd virgins shriek in vain ;
 Thine infants perish on the plain !

What boots it, that, in every clime,
 Through the wide-spreading waste of time,
 Thy martial glory, crown'd with praise,
 Still shone with undiminish'd blaze ?—
 Thy tow'ring spirit now is broke,
 Thy neck is bended to the yoke !
 What foreign arms could never quell.
 By civil rage and rancour fell.

in fines Horestiorum exercitum deducit. Ibi, acceptis obsidibus, præfecto classis circumvehi Britanniam præcepit : datæ ad id vires, et præcesserat

The rural pipe and merry lay
 No more shall cheer the happy day ;
 No social scenes of gay delight
 Beguile the dreary winter's night ;
 No strains but those of sorrow flow,
 And nought be heard but sounds of woe ;
 Whilst the pale phantoms of the slain
 Glide nightly o'er the silent plain.

O baleful cause ! O fatal morn !
 Accurs'd to ages yet unborn :
 The sons against their fathers stood,
 The parent shed his childrens blood ;
 Yet, when the rage of battle ceas'd,
 The victor's soul was not appeas'd ;
 The naked and forlorn must feel
 Devouring flames and conquering steel !

The pious mother, doom'd to death,
 Forsaken wanders o'er the heath ;
 The bleak wind whistles round her head,
 Her helpless orphans cry for bread ;
 Bereft of shelter, food, and friend,
 She views the shades of night descend ;
 And, stretch'd beneath inclement skies,
 Weeps o'er her tender babes, and dies !

While the warm blood bedews my veins,
 And, unimpaired, remembrance reigns.

terror : ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit.*

LXXXIV. In the beginning of the summer, Agricola, being stricken with a domestic wound, lost his son, born the year before ; which chance he bore, neither ostentatiously, as the most part of brave men, nor yet by lamentations and grief, like a woman ; in his sorrow, war was among the remedies. Therefore, the fleet being sent before, which, having plundered a great many places, would make a great and uncertain terror, the army being fitted out, to which he had added out of the Britons the bravest, and who had been tried by a long peace, he arrived at the Grampian mountain, which the enemy had already settled upon. For the Britons, nothing disconcerted by the event of the former battle, and expecting either revenge or slavery, and

Resentment of my country's fate
 Within my filial breast shall beat ;
 And, spite of her insulting foe,
 My sympathizing verse shall flow :
 Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn
 Thy banish'd peace, thy laurel torn !"

† Taciti *Julii Agricolæ Vita*, c. 28, &c.

at length taught that the common danger was to be repelled by concord, had called forth the strength of all their states, by embassies and confederacies : and now above thirty thousand of armed men were beheld, and yet flocked all the youth, with whom also fresh and green age, famous in war, and every one boasting their own honours ; when, among a great many commanders, one excelling in valour and birth, by name Calgacus, before the mustered multitude, demanding the battle, is reported to have spoken after this manner. . . .

Agricola, having finished his oration, so disposed the eager and impetuous soldiers, that the auxiliary infantry, which were eight thousand, strengthened the centre ; three thousand horse were spread in the wings ; the legion stood before the trench ; a prodigious honour to the victory, fighting without Roman blood, and succour, if they should be repulsed. The battalions of the Britons, for show, at once, and terror, had settled in the high places ; so that the first line being upon the plain, the rest, as if linked together, rose up a steep hill ; the charioteer and the horseman, with noise and careering, filled the midst of the field. Then Agricola, the multitude of the enemy surpassing, fearful lest it should engage, at one and the same time, his front and his flanks, his ranks being extended, although

the battalion was about to be too extensive, and several [officers] admonished that the legions should be sent for, being very ready at hope, and firm in adversity, his horse being dismissed, he stood on foot before the ensigns.

In the first encounter, indeed, they fought at a distance ; the Britons, at one and the same time, with firmness and skill, with huge swords and short targets, [attempted to] avoid, or shake off, the missile weapons of our soldiers, and they themselves to shower a great abundance of darts ; till Agricola exhorted three regiments of Batavians, and two of Tungrians, that they would bring the action to swords and hands ; which being not only practised by themselves in the old time of warfare, but unmanageable by enemies bearing small shields and enormous swords ; for the pointless swords of the Britons did not endure the embrace of arms, and a battle in the open field. Therefore, as the Batavians began to mix their blows, to strike with the bosses of their shields, to clear the ground, and those who had stood on the plain being borne down, they began to advance their battalion up the hills ; the other cohorts mingled with emulation and violence, to kill every one near them ; and many were left half dead or unhurt, in the pursuit of victory. In the meantime the troops of horsemen fled ; the

charioteers mingled themselves in the engagement of the infantry ; and, although they had brought fresh terror, nevertheless they stuck in the close ranks of the enemy and unequal places ; and by no means was this the appearance of an equestrian combat, while those standing in their ranks were borne down, all at once, by the bodies of the horses ; and, often, chariots running at random, horses frightened, without their riders, as fear had borne every one away, overran those who met them, or crossed their way. The Britons who, hitherto, were not concerned in the battle, had sitten upon the tops of the hills, and idly contemned the fewness of our soldiers, had begun by little and little to descend, and surround the backs of the conquerors, unless Agricola, fearing that very thing, had not opposed to the comers four wings of horsemen, retained for the sudden exploits of war ; and by how much they had run the more fiercely, by so much the more strenuously did he put them to flight. Thus the counsel of the Britons was turned against themselves ; and the wings brought over, by order of the general, assailed, from the front, the rear of the enemies fighting. Then, truly, in the extensive plains, a grand and atrocious spectacle : to pursue, to wound, to take prisoners, and, others being offered, those to slaughter ; now of the enemys, as

every ones mind was, battalions of armed men, to show their backs to very few, and some, unarmed, wilfully to rush forward, and offer themselves to death. Everywhere arms and bodies, and mangled limbs, and ground red with blood : sometime, even to the vanquished, rage and valour. After that they had approached the woods, being collected, they circumvented the first of those following, incautious, and unacquainted with the country : forasmuch as, unless Agricola, everywhere alert, had appointed stout and fleet troops, in the manner of a toil, and wherever they were very rank, part of the horsemen, their horses being left behind, at the same time the more open woods, to scour, there would have been some loss received through too much confidence. But when, composed in firm order, they again saw them pursue, betaking themselves to flight, not with numbers as before, nor one regarding another, seldom seen together, and shunning each other, sought distant and devious places ; the end of the pursuit was night and satiety of slaughter. There were slain of the enemy ten thousand ; of ours, three hundred and forty fell. The night, truly, was cheerful with joy and plunder : the Britons wandering, and with the promiscuous lamentation of both men and women, drew off the wounded, recalled the sound, deserted, and,

through rage, wilfully burned, their houses ; they chose hiding-places, and straightway left them ; they mingled certain counsels amongst each other, then hoped ; sometimes they were distressed by the sight of their pledges, but more frequently agitated ; and it sufficiently appeared that some were cruel toward their wives and children, as if they pitied them. The next day more amply exposed the face of victory ; everywhere a vast silence, desolate hills, houses smoking afar off, no man met by the scouts : who being sent into every part, when there were no certain vestiges of flight, neither anywhere enemies to embody themselves, to be found together, and the summer being already finished, he was unable to carry on the war, he led his army into the confines of the Horestii. There, hostages being received, he ordered the commander of the fleet to carry him about Britain ; force having been given to it, and terror had preceded : he himself, the infantry and horse, by a slow journey, whereby the minds of the new nations might be affrighted by the very delay of the march, placed in winter-quarters.

LXXXV. *Majorem Agricolaë gloriam invidens, Domitianus domum eum revocavit, legatumque*

suum Lucullum in Britannias misit, quod lanceas novæ formæ appellari *luculleas* passus esset.*

Successor ejus Trebellius erat, sub quo duæ provinciæ, Vespasiana, scilicet, et Mæata [Mæatæ, *alias* Valentia], fractæ sunt. Romani se ipsos, autem, luxuriæ dederunt.†

LXXXV. Domitian, envying the [superior] glory of Agricola, recalled him home, and sent Lucullus his legate into Britain, because he had suffered lances of a new form to be called *luculleas*.

His successor was Trebellius, under whom two provinces, Vespasiana, namely, and Mæatæ [otherwise Valentia], were lost; for the Romans gave themselves up to luxury.

CXXI. Britanniam petiit [Hadrianus imperator], in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.‡

* Ricardus Corinensis, L. II. c. 2, § 15.

† Idem, *ibi*. § 16.

‡ Spartiani *Adrianus Cæsar*, 51. This wall is likewise mentioned by Richard of Cirencester, who, though a modern

Julius Severus [primus optimorum ducum Hadriani] ex Britannia, cui præerat, contra Judæos missus est.*

Antoninus Pius imperator per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Britannos per Lollium

writer, certainly made use of ancient materials: “*A. M. MMMCXX. [A. C. 122.] Ipse in Britanniam transit Hadrianus imperator, immensoque muro unam insulæ partem ab altera sejungit.*” (Lib. 2, c. 1, § 22.) And elsewhere calls it, “*opus sane mirandum, et maxime memorabile.*” (L. 2, c. 2, § 17.) This wall, as it appears, was built of *turf*.—That Hadrian was in Caledonia, or the North of Britain, in or about the year 120, is evident from some verses which pass between him and one Florus, a poet, who speaks thus :

“ Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.”
(I never will be Cæsar,
To amble through the Britons,
To suffer Scythian frosts.)

The emperor answers thus :

“ Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.”
(I never will be Florus,
To amble through the taverns,
To lurk in victualling-houses,
To suffer biting gnats.)

* Dio, L. 69, c. 13.

Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespeditio, submotis barbaris, ducto.*

* *Capitolini Antoninus Pius*, 132. Richard of Cirencester, describing the Roman divisions of Britain, under the title *Valentiana*, alludes to the other turf wall: "qui ab imperatore *Antonino Pio*," he says, "inter *Bdoram* et *Clyddam*, extructus est." (L. 1, c. 6, § 2.) Again: "Hic *Britannia*, rursus quasi amplexu oceani delectata; angustior evadit, quam alibi, idque ob duo ista rapidissima, quæ infunduntur, æstuaria *Bodotriam* scilicet et *Clottam*; contractus hic isthmus ab *Agri-cola* legato præsidio munitus erat: *alium murum*, in *historiis nobilissimum*, crevit *imperator Antoninus*, ad xxxv. circiter *milliaria protensum*; ut hoc medio barbarorum sisteret incursiones, qui et ab *Ætio duce demum reparatus est*, undecimque *firmatus turribus*." (L. 1, c. 6, § 42.) The description, by Nennius, of this wall, will be noticed in another place. It is likewise described by Bede in the following words: *Insulani murum quem jussi fuerant [a Romanis], non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes, utpote nullum tanti operis artificem habentes, ad nihil utilem statuunt. Fecerunt autem eum inter duo freta vel sinus maris, per millia passuum plurima; ut ubi aquarum munitio deerat, ibi præsidio valli fines suos ab hostium inruptione defenderent: cujus operis ibidem facti, id est, valli latissimi et altissimi usque hodie certissima vestigia cernere licet. Incipit autem dubrum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Æbercurnig ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum Pcanfahel, lingua autem Anglorem Penneltun appellatur; et tendens contra occidentem terminatur juxta urbem Alcluth.*" (Lib. 1, c. 12.) This venerable ecclesiastic, nevertheless, has, in this narrative, widely hallucinated, by attributing the erection of this wall for the purpose of protecting the southward Britons from the incursions of the *Scots* and

CXXI. The emperor Hadrian went into Britain, in which he corrected many things, and was the first who drew a wall for eighty miles, which should divide the barbarians and the Romans.

Julius Severus, the first of the best generals of Hadrian, out of Britain, over which he presided, was sent against the Jews.

The emperor Antoninus Pius waged a great many wars by his lieutenants. For he conquered the Britons by Lollius Urbicus, his lieutenant; another turf-wall (the barbarians being driven back) being drawn [across].



CLXI. Pio mortuo, varias de Brittonibus victorias reportavit Aurelius Antoninus.*

Picts, neither of which nations had made its appearance in the north of Britain at this period, nor did so, in fact, till a subsequent century. In truth, through excessive ignorance, he dates its erection in 414, instead of 138. The barbarians, against whom the Romans advised this fortification, were the old Caledonians, or northern Britons, who, freeing themselves from a foreign yoke, had driven their enemies beyond the firths.—Many Roman inscriptions, devoted to Antoninus, have been dug up in the vestiges of this ancient wall, not a particle whereof is believed to be now perceptible.

* Ricardus Corinensis, I. II. c. 2, § 19.

CLXI. Pius being dead, Aurelius Antoninus gained various victories [over the Britons.]

CLXIV. Adversus Britannos Calphurnius Agricola missus est.*

CLXIV. Calphurnius Agricola was sent against the Britons.

CLXXXII. Fuere Commodo bella quædam cum barbaris. . . . Sed bellum Britannicum omnium longe maxime fuit. Quippe quum ejus insulæ nationes cum transgressæ murum essent, qui inter ipsos et Romanorum castra intercedebat, vastassentque multa, Romano duce, et militibus, quos secum habebat, cæsis, Commodus, timore perterritus, contra eos Ulpium Marcellum misit. . . . qui maximis atque gravissimis damnis in Britannia barbaros affecit: quo facto, quanquam parum abfuit, quin virtutis

* Capitolinus, in *Commodo*.

sua causa à Commodo necaretur, tamen dimissus est.*

CLXXXII. Commodus had some wars with the barbarians. . . . But the British war was by far the greatest of all. Forasmuch as when the nations of this island had passed over the wall, which went between themselves and the Roman camp, and wasted many parts, the Roman commander, and the soldiers which he had with him, being slain, Commodus, affrighted, sent against them Ulpius Marcellus, who affected the barbarians in Britain with the greatest and most grievous losses.

* Dio, L. 72. c. 8. The wall alluded to was most probably that of Antoninus. The text of Dio is well known to be in Greek, but that language being far less cultivated than the Roman, (a preference, at the same time, much to be lamented,) it appeared most proper to adopt the Latin version, which accompanies the original; being not only the work of a good scholar, but, likewise, faithful and literal, so far at least as the idioms of the two languages will allow. “The northern limits of this land, this wall, of stupendous fabric, covered, built by the Romans through the isthmus to the length of 80 miles, the height whereof was 12, the thickness truly equalled 9 feet, and adorned with towers.”—Richard of Cirencester, B. 1, c. 6, § 35.

CXCVII. In Britannia, cum Caledonii se, violatis promissis, ad defendendos Mæatas pararent, et Severus id temporis finitimo bello intentus esset, coactus fuit [Verrius] Lupus à Mæatis magna pecunia pacem redimere, paucis quibusdam captivis receptis.*

CXCVII. In Britain, when the Caledonians, their promises being violated, prepared themselves to defend the Mæatæ, and Severus at this time was intent upon the border war, Verrius Lupus was forced to purchase a peace from the Mæatæ, with much money, some few captives being received.

CCVII. Hujus insulæ non multo minus quam dimidia pars nostra est : quam Severus [imperator], quum vellet omnem in suam potestatem redigere, ingressus est in Caledoniam ; eamque dum pertransiret, habuit plurimum negotii, quod silvas cæderet, edita dirueret, paludes repletet agere, et flumina pontibus jungeret. Nullum enim prælium gessit, neque copias hostium acie adversa in-

* Dio, L. 75, c. 5.

structas vidit ; a quibus objiciebantur nostris consulto oves bovesque, ut quum ea milites nostri raperent, longius fraude seducti, conficerentur molestiis. Nam et aquæ inopia valde laborabant nostri, et dispersi insidias incidebant : quumque jam iter facere amplius non possent, ab ipsismet commilitonibus occidebantur, quo minus ab hostibus caperentur. Itaque mortui sunt è nostris ad quinquaginta millia.* Neque tamen destitit Severus, quousque ad extremam partem insulæ venit . . . Tandem per omnem fere terram hostilem vectus revertit ad socios, Britannis ad fœdus faciendum coactis, ea conditione, ut non parva regionis parte cederent.†

[Quadam] occasione, quum Severus et Antoninus equitarent ad Caledonios, ut arma ab iis caperent, et de fœderibus colloquerentur, Antoninus ipsum palam sua manu occidere est conatus.‡

CCVII. Of this island not much more than a half part was in possession of the Romans : all which when Severus the emperor wished to reduce into

* This seems to be a mistake for five thousand ; which might have been easily made in the manuscript copies, where Greek letters would be used in the place of Arabic numbers.

† Dio, L. 76, c. 13.

‡ *Ibi.* c. 14.

his own power, he entered into Caledonia; and, while he passed through it, had very much to do, because he was to fell forests, demolish high places, fill marshes with heaps of earth, and join rivers by bridges. For he fought no battle, nor saw faces of the enemy arrayed in adverse battalia; by whom were cast, on purpose before the Romans, sheep and oxen, that when the soldiers would seize them, seduced by fraud afar off, they were vexed with troubles. For the Roman soldiers not only suffered very much by the want of water, but, being dispersed, fell into snares: and when they could no longer continue their march, they were slain by their very fellow-soldiers, that they should not be taken by the enemy. So that of the Roman soldiers were dead fifty thousand. Neither did Severus yet desist, until he came to the extreme part of the island . . . At length, having gone through almost the whole country of the enemy, he returned to his associates, the Britons being forced to make a league on this condition, that they should yield up no small part of the region.

On a certain occasion, as Severus and Antoninus rode to the Caledonians, that they might take their arms from them, and parley concerning the treaties, Antoninus openly endeavoured to kill him with his own hand.

CCVIII. Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani munivit [Severus imperator] : unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.*

* Spartiani *Severus imperator*, 354. Eutropius, who wrote about 350, says of Severus, “Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit : utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per XXXII. millia passuum à mari ad mare deduxit.” (L. 8, c. 10.) Orosius makes this mention of him : “Severus, victor in Britannia, . . . ubi magnis gravibusque præliis sæpe gestis, receptam partem insulæ a ceteris indomitis gentibus vallo distinguendum putavit. Itaque magnam fossam, firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, per centum triginta et duo millia passuum à mare ad mare duxit.” (L. 7, c. 17.) Eusebius, and Cassiodorus, as well as the epitome falsely ascribed to Aurelius Victor, adopt the words of Eutropius, except that the two former read (as some copies of this historian appear to have done) CXXXII, instead of XXXII : both readings being, in all human probability, a mistake for LXXXII. The length of this famous wall was, in fact, 73959 Roman paces, equal to 68 miles and 169 paces English, or 73 miles and 959 paces Roman measure. (See Gordons *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 83.) The wall of Hadrian, which ran in the same direction, and upon which part of it was built, is said by Spartian to be “per octoginta millia passuum,” nearly the exact measure. Bede is a mere transcriber of Orosius, excepting that, after “indomitis gentibus,” he inserts “non muro, ut quidam æstimant, sed vallo, distinguendam putavit ;” adding, “Murus etenim de lapidibus, vallum, vero, quo ad repellendam vim hostium castra muniuntur fit de cespitibus, quibus circumcisis, è terra velut murus ex-

Post murum aut vallum missum in Britannia, quum ad proximam mansionem [Severus] redi-

struitur altus super terram, ita ut in ante sit *fossa*, de qua levati sunt *cespites*, supra quam *sudes* de lignis fortissimis præfiguntur” (L. 1, c. 5) : a distinction, it is believed, totally unwarranted by, and unknown to, any more ancient historians ; who, in speaking of this structure, use the words *vallum* and *murus* indiscriminately ; as, for instance, Spartian, already cited : “ *Post murum aut vallum missum in Britannia :*” and Capitolinus ; “ *alio muro cespitio ;*” though, doubtless, all the ramparts hitherto erected by, or under the direction of, the Romans in the north of Britain (including this of Severus) were conformable to the venerable monks explanation. The Saxon chronicle, under the year 189, says that Severus “ *Tha ge-wrohte he weall mid turfum, & bred weall thær on-ufon, fram sæ to sæ, Britwalum to gebeorge.*” — Thus Richard of Cirencester : “ *A.M. MMMCCVII [A.C. 209]. Destructum à Romanis conditum, murum restituit, transiens in Britanniam, Severus imperator*” (L. 2, c. 1, § 27) : and again, “ *Post hoc primus erat Virius Lupus, qui legati nomine gaudebat : non huic multa præclara gesta adscribuntur, quippe cujus gloriam interceptit invictissimus Severus, qui fugatis celeriter hostibus, murum Hadrianum, nunc ruinosum, ad summam ejus perfectionem reparavit ; et si vixerat, proposuerat extirpare barbaros, quibus erat infestus, cum eorum nomine, ex hac insula.*” (L. 2, c. 2, § 23.) The same compiler fixes the “ *Vallum Severinum*” opposite its proper station. “ *This wall, or mound,*” according to Nennius, “ *was carried by Severus from sea to sea, through the latitude of Britain, that is, for 132 miles, and is called in the British tongue Gaul, for 132 miles, that is, to Pengaaul, which town in Scottish is called Cenail, but in English Peneltun, unto the mouth of the*

ret,* non solum victor, sed etiam in æternum pace fundata, volvens animo quid omnis sibi occurreret,

river *Cluth*, [i. e. *Clyde*] and *Cairpentaloeh* [recte *Kirkintuloch*], where the wall is ended by rustic labour. *Severus*," he adds, "constructed this wall, but it profited nothing: *Carutius* [Carausius] afterward re-edified it, and fortified it with seven castles (c. 19):" thus palpably and absurdly confounding, as the learned Buchanan has done, in a more enlightened age, the wall of *Severus*, in Northumberland and Cumberland, with that of *Antoninus*, in the shires of Stirling and Dumbarton. That the work of Nennius, though left, no doubt, sufficiently inaccurate by himself, has suffered gross and manifest interpolation, is a notorious fact: the title of C. 24 is "De secundo etiam Severo, qui solita structura murum alterum . . . fieri a Tinmuthæ usque Rouvenens [lege Boulness] præcepit;" which, it must be admitted, gives a perfectly accurate idea of Severus's wall; but the chapter itself is defective, and was apparently omitted by his stupid interpolator, one *Samuel*, erroneously called *Beulanus*, or whoever else, to make room for his own absurdities. Gibson, in a note to his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (p. 838), gives the following inscription: "Sept. Severo imp. qui murum hunc condidit;" and Gordon mentions another, discovered, it seems, at Hexham, by Roger Gale, esq., and doctor Stukeley, dedicated to the same emperor (*Iti. Sep.*) Yet, after all this mass of authority, comes a certain cool and candid "antiquist," and, upon what he calls "the most mature examination," asserts himself to be "FULLY CONVINCED THAT SEVERUS BUILT NO WALL IN BRITAIN, NOR RAISED ANY RAMPART!" (*Enquiry*, I. 54.)

* "This station appears, from the history, to have been York." (Horsleys *Britannia Romana*, 62.)

Æthiops quidam è numero militari, claræ inter scurras famæ, et celebratorum semper jocorum, cum corona ê cupressu facta eidem occurrit : quem quum ille iratus removeri ab oculis præcepisset, et coloris ejus tactus omine et coronæ, dixisse ille dicitur joci causa, Totum fuisti, totum vicisti, jam deus esto victor.*

CCVIII. The emperor Severus, a wall being drawn across the island, secured Britain, on both sides, to the end of the ocean (which is the greatest honour of his empire) : whence, also, he received the name of Britannicus.

After the mound, or wall, finished in Britain, when Severus returned to his next station, not only victor, but also, a peace being established for ever, revolving in his mind everything that might happen to him, a certain Æthiop out of the military number, of great fame among the minstrels, and always of celebrated jokes, met him with a crown made of cypress : whom when he, being angry, had commanded to be removed from his sight, smitten by the omen as well of his complexion as of the crown, he is said to have uttered, by way of joke,

* Spartiani *Severus*. 363.

“Thou hast been all things, hast conquered all things, now, victor, be a god.”

CCIX. Severus criminari solebat incontinentes, ob eamque causam leges de mœchis tulit, quo nomine quamplurimi in jus vocati sunt. . . . Ex quo urbanè in primis, Argentocoxi, cujusdam Caledonii uxor, Juliae Augustæ, quæ ipsam mordebat, post initum fœdus, quod mixtim cum maribus coirent, dixisse fertur : Nos multò meliùs explemus ea, quæ natura postulat necessitas, quam vos Romanæ : nam apertè cum optimis viris habemus consuetudinem : vos autem occultè pessimi homines adulteriis polluunt. Sic illa Britanna.*

CCIX. Severus was wont to criminate the incontinent, and for that cause prescribed laws con-

* Dio, I. 76, § 16, p. 1285. The empress Julia, wife of Severus, survived her husband, but died in the latter part of the same year. The exact year of the British lady's repartee cannot be ascertained ; but, from the historians mention of the league, which appears to have taken place in 207, or 208, (when Severus was in Britain,) there was time for the introduction, to the empress, of the Caledonian envoys wife, which was most probably at Rome.

cerning adulterers, by which name a great many were called into the tribunal. . . . From which, first of all, the wife of Argentocoxus, a certain Caledonian, is reported to have said to Julia Augusta, who taunted her, after the commenced league, that mixedly they copulated with their husbands: "We accomplish those things, which necessity demands from nature, much better than you Romans; for we have, openly, intercourse with the best men; but you, secretly, the worst men pollute with adulteries." So that Britoness.

CCX. Iterum defectio Britannorum, quamobrem Severus, convocatis militibus, jussit ut regionem eorum invaderent, atque omnes in quos incidissent interficerent; idque præcepit his versibus:

Nemo manus fugiat vestras.
 Non fœtus gravida mater gestat in alvo
 Horrendum effugiat cædem.

Quo facto, quod Caledonii una cum Mæatis defeccerant, comparabat se, ut ipsemet bellum contra eos gereret. Sed id parantem morbus abstulit pridie nonas Februarii.*

* Dio, L. 76, c. These dreadful verses are those of Homer (Iliad, B. VI. v. 57).

CCX. Again was there a revolt of the Britons, wherefore Severus, the soldiers being called together, ordered that they should invade their country, and kill all whom they fell upon ; and commanded it in these verses :

No man shall flee your hands ! the pregnant mother,
 Bearing the tender infant in her womb,
 Shall not the slaughter horrible escape.

Which being done, because the Caledonians, together with the Mæatæ, had revolted, he prepared himself that he would wage war against them. But him, making ready for it, a disease took away the day before the nones of February [*i. e.* the 4th day of that month, 211]. *



CCXI. Post hæc Antoninus omne imperium obtinuit. Nametsi dicebat id sibi esse cum fratre commune, tamen, re vera, solus statim imperare cœpit, diremitque bellum cum hostibus, ac regione cessit, et castella deseruit.†

* According to the Saxon chronicle, he died at York, in the year 189.

† Dio, l. 77, c. 1.

CCXI. After these things, Antoninus obtained the whole government. For, although he said it was common to him with his brother, nevertheless, in truth, he alone began to reign, and put an end to the war with the enemy, and left the country, and deserted the camps.

CCXIII. Venalem à Mæatis pacem obtinuit Bassianus.*

CCXIII. Bassianus obtained a venal peace from the Mæatæ.

CCXXII. Intra mœnia se continent Romani milites, altaque pace tota perfruitur insula.†

CCXXII. The Roman soldiers contained themselves within the walls, and the whole island enjoyed a profound peace.

* Ricardus Corinensis, L. 2, c. I, § 28.

† Idem, *ibi*. § 29.

CCLXXXVII. Carausius, qui vilissime natus, in strenuo militiæ ordine famam egregiam fuerat consecutus . . . à Maximiano jussus occidi, purpuram sumpsit et Britannias occupavit*. . . . Cum Carausio tamen, cum bella frustra tentata essent contra virum rei militaris peritissimum, ad postremum pax convenit. Eum post septennium Alecutus socius ejus occidit atque ipse post eum Britannias triennio tenuit: qui ductu Asclepiodoti est oppressus. Ita Britannia decimo anno receptæ.†

CCLXXXVII. Carausius, who, being most basely born, had obtained exalted fame in a valiant course of warfare . . . being ordered by Maximinian to be slain, assumed the purple, and possessed Britain . . . With Carausius, nevertheless, when wars were in vain attempted against a man most skilful

* Eutropius, L. 9, c. 21.

† Idem, *ibi*. c. 22. According to Nennius, Carausius (whom he corruptly calls *Carutius*) the emperor, after [Severus] re-edified his wall [which he confounds with that of Antoninus], and fortified [it] with seven castles; and between both firths constructed a round house, with polished stones, upon the river Carron, which from his name received its name, erecting it as a triumphal arch of his victory, (meaning *Julius-hoff*, or *Arthurs-oven* :) but all foolishness, falsehood, and absurdity. (C. 19.)

of warfare, peace at last was agreed upon. Alec-
 tus, his associate, slew him seven years afterward ;
 and he himself, after him, held Britain three years :
 who, by the conduct of Asclepiodotus, was put
 down. So Britain was recovered in the tenth year.

CCCCXII. The island [of] Britain revolted from
 the Romans, and the soldiers there placed created
 to themselves emperor Constantine, a man not ob-
 scure. Constantine, being conquered in battle, was
 slain with his sons : nor yet were the Romans ever
 able to recover Britain : but, from that time, it was
 in the rule of tyrants.*

CCCCXVIII. The Romans heaped together all
 the treasures of gold which were in Britain, and
 some they hid in the earth, where afterward no one
 could find it, and some they led with [them] into
 Gaul.†

* Procopius, *Of the Vandalic war*, B. 2, c. 2. This so-
 phist wrote in Greek, so late as the 6th century : he does not
 give a single date throughout his absurd and fabulous book.

† *Chro. Sax.* [*Ad an.*]

Annals of the Picts.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. IN the year 296, we find the first mention of a nation or people, in Caledonia, or the north of Britain, called the Picti, or Picts. This occurs in a panegyric oration, delivered in the presence of the emperor Constantius Chlorus, on occasion of his victory over Alectus, a usurper in Britain, at Treves, in Germany, by Eumenius, a professor of rhetoric at Augustodunum, (now Autun,) in Gaul.* Speaking of the island of Britain as having been

* “ Tacitus,” according to Pinkerton, “ is the first who mentions the people of Caledonia, or *Piks.*” This is one of his usual misrepresentations. Tacitus, in fact, mentions *the people of Caledonia*, and especially the *Horestii*, but not the *Picts*; whether they were the same, or the latter were not then in Britain, remains to be determined by other authorities.

first entered by Cæsar, who wrote that he had found a new world, he affects to diminish the value of his conquest, by adding, that, in Cæsar's age, Britain was provided with no ships for naval war, while Rome flourished not more by land than by sea. Moreover, he says, the nation he attacked was then rude, and the Britons, used only to the PICTS and Irish, enemies then half-naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigns.* They are mentioned a second time by the same orator, in a panegyric pronounced, at the same place, before Constantine, the son of Constantius, in 309 or 310: "The day would fail," he says, "sooner than my oration, were I to run over all the actions of thy father, even with this brevity. His last expedition did not seek for British trophies, (as is vulgarly believed,) but, the gods now calling him, he came to the secret bounds of the earth. For neither did he, by so many and such [great] actions, I do not say the woods and marshes of the Caledonians and other PICTS,† but not [even] Ireland, near at hand, nor furthest

* Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, *Pictis modo* et Hibernis assueta, hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt."

† Non dico *Caledonum*, *aliorumque Pictorum*, silvas et paludes." Instead of "non dico *Caledonum*," H. Valois proposes "non *Deu Caledonum*." But no MS. has been disco-

Thulé, nor the Isles of the Fortunate, if such there be, deign to acquire." It appears, likewise, from the fragment of an ancient Roman historian, that, in the year 306, in which Constantius died, he had defeated the Picts; who are, afterward, repeatedly noticed by Ammianus Marcellinus, and Claudian the poet. What these new people were, whence they came, and why they were so called, are questions which, though frequently discussed, have never yet been satisfactorily decided. That they were the old *Caledonii*, or *Caledones*, the aboriginal inhabitants of North Britain, an opinion entertained, according to Mr Pinkerton, by Buchanan, Camden, Lloyd, Innes, Whitaker, the Macphersons,* O'Connor, and D'Anville, and adopted finally by Mr Pinkerton himself, is asserted in direct opposition to

vered to countenance such a conjecture. The proper name of the northern Britons was, at the same time, *Caledonii*, and not *Caledones*. "It appears unquestionably," to Pinkerton, "from this passage, that the Caledonians were *Piks*." (*Enquiry*, I. 115.) It appears, indeed, that the Picts were another people of Caledonia, which is not disputed.

* "The two Macphersons," of whose respectable testimony he is here eager to avail himself, "have," as he elsewhere asserts, "with great resolution, attacked and *confuted* all the ancients, &c. Their gross ignorance," he adds, "is supported by its usual adjuncts—superciliousness and petulance." (*Enquiry*, I. 123.)

every ancient writer, Roman, British, or English, and in utter defiance even of truth and probability.* In the first place, the name of *Pict* [is] never found before the year 296, and it seems a thing unparalleled at least, if not impossible, that part of a people

* This authors absurdity is peculiarly his own, for he not only maintains the ancient Caledonians to be Picts, or *Piks*, as he affects to call them, but pretends, at the same time, that Scotland was held by the *Cumri*, or *Cimbri*, or *Cimmerii*, two different people; and that the *Cimbri*, “who held all Germany,” were Celts (I. 13, 15), and “held Scotland till the *Piks* came and expelled them” (I. 16, 39); asserting, moreover, that “the *Piks* came from Norway to Scotland” (I. 15). He was formerly, he allows, of a different opinion: “That the *Piks* were a new race, who had come in upon the Caledonians in the third century, and expelled them; and that the Caledonians were *Cumraig* Britons.” This seems highly rational, at least, if it were not the real fact. “But,” he adds, “finding Tacitus, Eumenius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Beda, in full and direct opposition to this idea, [certainly false with respect to the first and two last, if not to the second;] and not choosing to imitate our Scotch antiquitists in fighting against authorities, [which is nevertheless his constant practice,] I was forced to abandon this ground. . . . For ancient authorities,” he concludes, “are the sole guides to real truth in historic antiquities; conjectures and arguments are only ingenious lies:” which made him abandon the former, and have recourse only to the latter (I. 106). He no longer insists “on a matter so clear, and known to all, as that the Caledonians and *Piks* were the same (I. 119). “It is unnecessary,” he says, “to dwell longer on a subject so universally known and

should, at once, change the national name, or have it changed for them by others, without any apparent reason or necessity. No ancient writer ever uses the names of Britons and Picts as synonymous, or has the expression of Britons, otherwise Picts, unless it be Eumenius, in the latter of the passages already quoted, in which he speaks of the Caledones and other Picts. This, however, beside that it is contradicted by his own assertion, in the first panegyric, that “the *Britons* [were] accustomed only to the *Picts* and *Irish*, enemies half-naked,” where he evidently describes three distinct nations, proves nothing but his own inaccuracy, any more than his supposing these very Picts to have been the enemies of the Britons in the time of Julius Cæsar;* or

allowed, as the identity of the Caledonians and Piks, and which indeed no one can deny, who does not prefer [as he himself had done] his own dreams to ancient authorities of the best note, so that laughter, and not confutation, should be employed against him” (I. 120). He admits, at the same time, that “Gildas says the Piks came *ab aquilone*, to infest the *Britons*, and always speaks of them as a quite different people” (I. 160).

* Pinkerton says “the Piks were really the *Vik Veriar* of Norway . . . and were questionless settled in that part of Britain which lies north of the Clyde and Forth, long before the time of Julius.” (*Enquiry*, I, 113.) “From Eumenius,” he repeats, “we learn that the Piks existed in the time of Julius Cæsar.” (I. 116).

Sidonius Apollinaris making this great man conquer Picts, Scots, and Saxons: “Cæsar fuderit quanquam *Scotum*, et cum *Saxone Pictum*.” The words of Gildas, who calls them, and their Scottish associates, *duas gentes transmarinas*, are explained by Bede to mean, not that they were placed out of Britain, but because they were remote from the part of the Britons, two arms of the sea, to wit, the firths of Clyde and Forth, lying between them. This last historian relates, “That after the Britons, coming over from *Armorica*,* as it was reported, beginning at the south, had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Picts, coming into the ocean from Scythia, arrived first in Ireland, whence, by the advice of the Irish, they sailed over into Britain, and began to inhabit the northern parts thereof, for the Britons,” he repeats, “were possessed of the southern.” The Britons, therefore, and the Picts, were at any rate distinct nations, arriving in the opposite extremities of the island at different periods; according, at least, to the extent of Bede’s information. He does not, indeed, tell us at what

* L. 1, c. 1. The Saxon chronicle, which evidently follows Bede, instead of *Armorica*, has *Armenia*; and Bede himself mistakes the country the Britons *fled to* with that they *came from*.

period either of these expeditions took place. Matthew of Westminster, and Roger of Chester, or Randal Higden, writers, it must be confessed, of little authority for so remote a fact, place it in the time of Vespasian, or, according to the former, *anno gratiæ* 75: but this, in reality, seems nothing more than the echo of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who calls the king of these invading Picts *Rodric*, and pretends that he was killed in battle by Marius, an imaginary king of Britain; for a monument of whose death he set up a stone in the province which, from his name, was afterward called *Westmorland*, where, he says, there is an inscription retaining his memory to this day. William of Malmesbury, in fact, bears testimony to a stone, in his time, in the city of Luguballia, or Carlisle, inscribed *MARII VICTORIÆ*, which he, having never heard of a British monarch of that name, conjectures might have been brought hither by some of the Cimbri, when they were driven by Marius out of Italy. An old scribe, however, quoted by Usher, asserts the inscription on the stone alluded to by Geoffrey to have been in very good English for that time of day, long, that is, before this language was known:

“ Here the king Westmer
Slew the king Rothynger.”

But, however this may be, the honest but simple monk has evidently corrupted a common Roman inscription, MARTI VICTORI, to one never heard of. That it was usual for the legions stationed in the different colonies to erect altars to the god of war, under this and similar epithets, appears from Gruters *Inscriptiones antiquæ*, p. lviii., where are two addressed MARTI VICTORI. A third is inserted in Horsleys *Britannia Romana*, from Warburtons map of Northumberland; which, though now lost, may be fairly inferred to have been the identical altar mentioned by William of Malmesbury—"In the south-west end of the well-house, at the west end of the station [Little-Chester]," according to Gough, in a note upon his edition of Camdens *Britannia* (III. 245), is this inscription, on an altar, (for the truth of which that edition must answer):

MARTI VICTORI
COH. III. NERVIORVM
PRÆFECT. I. CANINIVS.

The *Scythia* of Bede is universally allowed to be *Scandia*, *Scandinavia*, modern Denmark, or Jutland,* which Tacitus seems to comprehend within

* It is likewise the *Thule* of Procopius, and the *Scythia insula* of the great Belgic chronicle.

his description of Germany ; and the reason of *Scythia*, or *Scandinavia*, being fixed upon for the mother country of the *Picts*, as it likewise is for that of the *Scots*, is furnished by Jornandes, who describes his “ *Scanzia insula, quasi officina gentium, aut certe velut vagina gentium,*” having already told his patron that the nation, whose origin he required, “ *ab hujus insulæ gremio velut examen apum erumpens in terram, Europæ advenit.*”

Scythia, therefore, was a sort of *terra incognita*, which, like the fabulous plain in the land of Shinar, poured out its swarms all over the north. These *Piks*, however, according to the facetious mr Pinkerton, were, in fact, the *Peukini* (a Scythian or Gothic nation), the *Piki*, he says, of ancient Colchis, who inhabited the isle of *Peuke*, at the mouth of the Danube.* “ The *Cimbri*,” he pretends, “ held Scotland till the *Piks* [“ from Norway”] came and expelled them ; an event which happened about 200 years before Christ. These *Cimbri*,” he adds, “ were driven by the *Piks* down below Loch-Fyn, and the Tay, and, after, beyond the firths of Forth and Clyde ; and they are doubtless the progenitors of some of the inhabitants of Clydesdale and

* “ The *Peukini*, or *Basternæ*, whom,” says he, “ I take to be the *Peohtar*, or *Piks*.” (*Enquiry*, 1, 129.)

Galloway :”* “ all circumstances,” to make use of his own elegant language, “ that would disgrace one of mother Goose’s tales !”

* *Enquiry*, I. 16. “ In Scandinavia, therefore,” he says, “ that large peninsular tract, including Norway, Sweden, and a part of Denmark, we are to look for the *Piks*.” (I. 169.) Some monuments of this people, he pretends, still exist in that country (I. 162). He likewise asserts, that “ *Jutland* was anciently called *Vitland*, or *Pitland*” (I. 182); and would have it “ inferred, that in times preceding any sagas, or other memorials of Norwegian history, the whole Norwegians were called *Pihtar*, as being *Peukini*” (I. 174). “ In Norway,” he adds, “ the real ancient name seems to have been *Pihtar*, as we find it in the Saxon Chronicle [in which there is no such word], but afterwards *Vihtar*, as in the *Sagas* [where it has a different meaning].” (I. 173.) “ The *Peukini*, *Pcohtar*, *Pihtar*, *Vichar*, or *Piks* [mostly names of his own invention] were,” he says, “ as would appear [to his imagination], settled in Scandinavia, at least 500 years before our era. From thence their only two ancient emigrations [known to none but himself] were into present Scotland, and into present Denmark.” (I. 204.) “ In their original seats on the Euxine, Greek and Roman writers call them *Piki* and *Peukini*; being,” he says, “ the real names of *PIHTS* and *PEUHTS* mollified, and rendered more distinct.” (I. 367.) “ The *Peukini*,” he infers, “ from every ground of cool probability, were the very first *Basternæ* who passed over, and proceeded north-west, till they emerged under the name of *Picti*, the *Pihtar*, or *Pcohtar*, or *Pihtar* of the Saxon Chronicle [in which no such names occur], *Pehiti* of Witichind, and *Pchts* of ancient Scottish poets.” (*Dissertation*, p. 176.) But he ought to have remembered, that “ lyars are often detected by falling into the *im*.

But admitting, for a moment, the verity of Bedes Irish tradition, that the Picts came from *Scythia*, or *Scandinavia*, where is the necessity of concluding them to be Goths? Were the Scots so, who likewise came from *Scythia*, and whose very name is asserted to be a corruption of *Scythæ*? How happens it, moreover, if they were a Gothic or Scandinavian people, that they are never once mentioned by Jornandes, Adam of Bremen, or any ancient historian or geographer of those parts—not even in one single solitary *saga*? That they are ever called *Vikar*, *Vihtar*, or *Vik-Veriar*, by the Norwegian writers, *credat Judæus Apella!**

possible, for a knave is always a fool." (*Enquiry*, I. 236.) And, in fact, "his errors are so utterly childish, [and truly Gothic, or Celtic, if he will,] that they confute themselves." (I. 191.)

* See Pinkertons *Enquiry*, I. 173, &c. 369. He explains the *Vecturiones* of Marcellinus "*Vectveriar*, or *Pikish* men, as," he untruly says, "the Icelandic writers call them in their Norwegian seats *Vik-veriar*; and, either ignorantly or dishonestly, to countenance this most false and absurd hypothesis, corrupts the *Pihtas* of the Saxons into *Pihtar*, a termination impossible to their language. It is true, indeed, that he has stumbled upon a passage in Rudbecks *Atlantica* (I. 672), in which that very fanciful and extravagant writer speaks of the *Packar*, *Baggar*, *Paiktar*, *Baggeboar*, *Pitar*, and *Medel Pakcar*, whom he pretends, "*Britanni vero Peiktar appellat, et Peictonum tam eorum qui in Galliis quam in Britannia resident genitores*

To prove, by a negative argument, that the Picts were not in Scotland before the year of Christ 210, we must have recourse to Ptolemy, who is thought to have compiled his geography about that period. What materials he was supplied with, and of what age, or how he came by them, we are not informed ; but, as he was no traveller, he most probably made use of such, whatever might be their character, as he was able to procure from different quarters. He gives the following names as those of nations inhabiting *Caledonia*, or the north of Britain : the *Novantæ*, *Selgovæ*, *Damnii*, *Gadeni*, *Otadeni*, *Epidii*, *Cerones*, *Creones*, *Carnonacæ*, *Careni*, *Cornabii*, *Caledonii*, *Cantæ*, *Mertæ*, *Vacomagi*, *Venicontes*, and *Texali*. Richard of Cirencester, too, an English monk of the fourteenth century, but possessed, indisputably, of excellent and genuine remains of the Roman times, mentions, in addition to the nations already recited, the *Horestii* (spoken of by Tacitus), the *Vecturones*, or *Venricones*, the *Attacotti*, and the *Logi*. The *Damnii* of Ptolemy he calls *Damnii Albani*. “ Gentes,” he adds, “ parum notæ, et intra lacuum montiumque claustra plane recon-

faciunt.” He finds these *Pacti*, also, in the *Argonauticks*, v. 1067 ; and his whole work seems the composition of a man whom “ much learning hath made mad.”

ditæ." Neither of these authors, we perceive, anywhere mentions the Picts by name, any more than Dio, who wrote about 230, or Herodian, about 250. The natives, therefore, described in Britain, by these two respectable historians, are manifestly those of an earlier age, that of Cæsar, for instance, or Agricola; it being, apparently, impossible that a residence of Roman garrisons, for a space of near two hundred years, the introduction of the Christian religion, and various other circumstances favourable to civilization, should not have effected a change in the barbarous manners of the naked and painted Britons, whom the former, at least, of these great men found here on his arrival.*

* "That the *Piks*," says Mr Pinkerton, "could not come in the time of Vespasian, we know from Tacitus and Ptolemy. 2. That they did not come in that of Severus, from Dio and Herodian." (I. 196.) Nothing conclusive, however, can be fairly inferred from the silence of Tacitus, who does not profess to enumerate the different nations of Caledonia. Agricola, he relates, "subdued nations till that time unknown;" but he has not preserved their names, the *Horstii* being the only people whom he specifically mentions. As for Ptolemy, we only know that he gives Greek or Roman names to all or most of the nations he describes, and may possibly be thought to have included the Picts under some other appellation. Neither was Dio or Herodian ever in Britain; and their not naming the Picts can only prove either that they had never heard of such a people, or had no occasion to mention them. Neither does Florus, nor Eutropius, nor, in fact, any other Roman

Other countries, at the same time, beside Scythia or Scandinavia, have been assigned for the origin of this extraordinary people, who thus settled in Britain like a flight of locusts, by no modern writers. Girald Barry, bishop of St. Davids, who flourished in the latter part of the twelfth century, supposes them, like Mr Pinkerton, to be Goths, and misquotes Servius, to prove they were the *Picti Agathyrsi* of Virgil.* Certain it is that the *Picti* of

historian (excepting Ammianus), not even Orosius, or Paul Warnfrid (unless where he expressly follows Gildas or Bede), ever once mention the Picts; whence it would be equally fair to conclude that they were not in Britain in the fifth or ninth century, as that they were not there in the third or fourth, because they are not mentioned by Dio or Herodian. They were certainly in Britain before the year 306, and, consequently, according to Mr Pinkerton's reasoning, (which he elsewhere contradicts,) must have arrived after 230 or 250, about which time Dio and Herodian wrote. Gildas, indeed, expressly says that, upon Maximus withdrawing the Roman legions and British infantry, which never returned, (A. C. 383,) the Britons were THEN FIRST infested with two cruel transmarine nations, the Scots and the Picts. This era, on the contrary, is not early enough.

* *De instructione principis* (Julius, B. XIII. fo. 97). He says they found the island “*viris et viribus vacuum,*” and occupied the north parts, “*ac provincias non modicas.*” His idea is adopted by bishop Stillingfleet. They are likewise, for a similar reason, conjectured to have been part of the *Dacæ* and *Scythæ*, conquered by Trajan about 105. See Usher, p. 288.

Britain are called *Pictones*, if not by Claudian, or Paul Warnefrid,* at least, in the Latin part of the Ulster annals, taken, it is presumed, either from those of Tigernac, who died in 1080, or from chronicles, still more ancient, which they occasionally refer to. It must be remembered, at the same time, that a people of Aquitain Gaul, upon the sea-coast (now Poitou), is called by Cæsar, Strabo, Pliny, and others, *Pictones*. *Pictavi* (now Poitiers) was their city; whence they are afterward, in the *Notitia Gallica*, by Gregory of Tours and others, called also *Pictavi* or *Pictavienses*; and Mr Pinkerton may contend these *Pictones* to be the *Vectones* of Pliny, with the same truth and propriety with which he maintains his *Piks* to have been the *Viks*, or *Vikar*, of the old sagas. There is, it must be admitted, no positive or sufficient authority for this being the original or mother country of the Picts; but it may be fairly inferred, that, if, as it appears, the latter spoke the Celtic language, or, at least, a dialect thereof, they must, necessarily, in the first instance, have emigrated from Celtica or Gaul, and, most probably, too, have been a maritime people. The

* *Pictonum*, in Claudian, is said by Camden to be a mistake for *Pictorum*; as it likewise may be in Paul, who has always, in the nominative and accusative plural, *Picti* and *Pictos*, but never *Pictoncs*.

Pictones were a considerable nation of the *Celtæ* (to whom Cæsar allots a third part of Gaul), and inhabited a large district to the south of the Liger or Loire, bordering upon the northern ocean, now the bay of Biscay. Between this people and the Picts, if not absolutely the same, there is at least this resemblance, that both appear, as is already said, to have been called *Pictenes*. Flaccus Alcovinus, who flourished in 780, and wrote a Latin poem, “*De pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*,” (apud *Historiæ Britannicæ scriptores*, XX. à Gale, I. 705,) and makes frequent mention of the Picts, has in one instance this line (v. 68):

“*Donec PICTO FEROX timido simul agmine fugit.*”

(Till the fierce Pict fled, with a fearful herd.)

This, therefore, is an additional evidence, that *Picto*, a Pict, *Pictones*, the Picts, was a common name as well of the Gallic, as of the Caledonian Picts.

To return to the question, of which we have almost lost sight, one very strong, and, indeed, irrefragable and conclusive argument against the *Picts* being *Britons* (if, in fact, so palpable and self-evident a contradiction admit of argument) is, that the latter had embraced Christianity long before the Picts made their first appearance in history,

according, that is, to venerable Bede, in the year 150 ; and, if we can believe or understand Gildas, at a much earlier period.* Several authors, indeed, still more ancient, as saint Justin,† saint Irenæus,‡ saint Chrysostom,§ and Theodoret,|| uniformly assert that Britain knew Christianity a short time after the death of Christ. In the year 304, as we learn from Bede, was a persecution of the Christians in Britain, in which the saints Alban, Aaron, and Julius, with many others of both sexes, suffered martyrdom.¶ Three British bishops were present at the Council of Arles, in 314 ; Eborius of York, Restitutis of London, and Adulfus of Colchester :** And an old Scottish writer, cited by Usher, affirms, apparently from good information, and with perfect truth, that the whole island had been taught Christianity before the Picts and Scots entered it.†† To these authorities, it may be add-

* See Bede, L. 1, c. 4 ; Gildas, c. 6.

† Dia, p. 445.

‡ L. 1, c. 2.

§ *Homilia de lau. Pauli* (Opera, tomus 2, p. 477).

|| *Decuran. Græc. affec.* L. 9.

¶ L. 1, c. 7.

** Usher, p. 104.

†† *Idem*, p. 302 : “ totam insulam Britanniam Christianitatem fuisse doctam antequam *Picti* et *Scoti* illam intrarent.” Another argument may be induced from the walls of Antoninus and Severus : the former, erected in 138, to repress the incursions of the *Caledonii*, or Northern Britons, was never

ed, that Calpornius, the father of saint Patrick, who resided somewhere on the south-west coast of North-Britain, toward the close of the fourth century, was a *deacon*, and Potit, his grandfather, a *priest*.* The southern Picts, on the contrary, are notoriously known to have been pagans, or idolaters, down, at least, to their conversion by saint Ninian, about 394, and the northern, to the mission of saint Columba, in 565.

Another reason, which will render the pretence of the Picts being Caledonians, or indigenous Britons, still more absurd, is the authentic epistle of

called *the Picts wall*; a name exclusively appropriated to that of Severus, erected in 209, and repaired, or rebuilt, in 426. The former of these walls, indeed, was also rebuilt or repaired in 416, to repress the incursions of the Picts and Scots; but this has nothing to do with the purpose of its original erection, nor ever procured it the name of *the Picts wall*. There was likewise another ditch, or rampart, extending 22 miles in length, from the Solway firth toward the firth of Forth, called the *Catrail*, or *Picts work-ditch*, which is supposed by Gordon to have been also made in the time of Severus. (See his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 102.)

* *S. Patricis confessio*, (Opuscula, &c. p. 1 :) “*patrem habui Calpornium diaconum, filiam quondam Potiti presbyteri.*” From this *Calpornius*, saint Patrick, in an old Irish poem, being a dialogue between himself and *Oissin*, or *Ossian*, is called by the latter *MacAlpin*. (See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1787. *Antiquities*, p. 30.)

Gildas, who, being himself a Briton, and having likewise resided for some time in Ireland, could not possibly have been mistaken in the account he has given of these hostile, savage, and pagan strangers, without the slightest intimation that they had degenerated from their parent-stock, and rejected, or abandoned the blessings of Christianity, or using many other reproaches, which would have been perfectly natural to a British monk, and more especially to so petulant a writer as Gildas, who reviles even the sovereigns of his native country in the most intemperate language. But those, in short, who can believe the Caledonians and the Picts were one and the same people, may, with equal propriety, maintain the same argument with respect to the Britons and the Saxons, the Gauls and the Franks, or any other two nations equally dissimilar.

If the Picts were Caledonian Britons, who then were "the natives" from whom, as Gildas says, the Picts and Scots took "the *northern* and *extreme* parts as far as the wall?" (C. 15.) The writer who attempts to support this opinion should, at the same time, have proved that those Briton-Picts plundered themselves. But, indeed, the visionary identity of two such different nations scarcely merits argument and confutation.

Yet, though this singular people, as well as the Scots, their companions, were certainly adventurers, and never known in Britain before the second or third century, it seems absolutely impossible, without the fortunate discovery of some more ancient documents, now unknown, to trace either nation back to its parent country. It must be confessed, however, that several authors, anterior to Geoffrey of Monmouth, have considered both the Picts and Scots to have been settled in the north of Britain, long before either of those people is mentioned by any Greek or Roman historian, or panegyrist. King Alfred, in his licentious version from the *Ormesta mundi* of Orosius, says, under the year 209, “ Severus oft fought with Picts and with Scots (Peohtas and Scottas) ere he could defend the Britons ;” but, in fact and truth, no such passage is to be found in the original ; nor had Orosius ever heard of the Picts, though he does, in one instance, mention the Scots, natives, that is, of Hibernia, or Ireland. So that Alfred apparently had known nothing of the genuine history of the Picts, or when or whence they came (except what he found in Bede) ; nor does he seem to have ever had either war or friendship with that extraordinary people. Fabius Ethelwerd, at the year 46, after having told us that Claudius Cæsar led the Roman army by

troops, and invaded the fruitful fields of the Britons ; that he subjected kings to serve him, and went all over the *Orchades*, unto farthest *Thule*, adds, “ resistunt jugo *Scoti Pictique*,” (the Scots and Picts resist the yoke.) Eumenius, the orator, supposes the Britons to have had *Pictish* and *Hibernian* (that is, *Scotish*) adversaries, even before the time of Julius Cæsar, who, likewise, according to Sidonius Apollinaris (about the year 470), conquered not only the *Scots* and *Picts*, but the *Saxons* in Britain :—

“ ——— *Victricia Cæsar*

*Signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos,
Fuderit et quanquam Scotum, et cum Saxone, Pictum.*”

Where, by the way, as bishop Stillingfleet has observed, he distinguisheth the *Caledonian Britons* from the *Scots* and *Picts*. These absurdities, however, only serve to prove that celebrated writers, in remote ages, were very bad chronologists and computers of time.

After all, let these ferocious invaders have arrived in whatever time, or from whatever country, it is perfectly clear they were the inveterate enemies of the indigenious inhabitants, whom they instantly attacked, defeated, and drove out of the country ; which, by the way, may be fairly inferred to have

been rather thinly peopled, and their conquests, of course, attended with the less difficulty ; as we well know that the Caledonian-Britons had been nearly exterminated by the Romans, under Julius Agricola, not two centuries before, having in that final and fatal engagement, so eloquently described by his son-in-law, lost ten thousand men ! a loss they had scarcely been able to repair.

§ 2. With respect to the name of *Picts*, or *Picti*, it is most probably that which they gave themselves ; though, by an apparent conceit of the poet Claudian, and the ignorance or affectation of modern writers, it is generally supposed to have been conferred by the Romans, and to imply *painted people*. Whether the Picts actually painted themselves or not, as the practice was universal among the Britons, the name would have been, with no less propriety, imputed to the latter. The Roman poets, as we shall soon see, called many nations *Picti*, *Virides*, *Cærulei*, and the like ; but there is no instance in ancient history of such an epithet becoming the proper name of a people. This Claudian, however, who wrote about the year 400, is the only Roman writer who says that the Picts were actually painted :—

“ — nec falso nomine *Pictos*.”
 (— nor falsely named Picts.)

He also tells us that they were stigmatized, or marked with figures :—

“ ——— ferroque notatas
 Perlegit *exanimis Picto moriente, figuras.*”
 (—— with iron mark'd,
 Sees lifeless figures on the dying Pict.)

Isidore of Seville, perhaps from this identical passage, says, “ the Scots (*Scotti*, a palpable mistake for *Picti*), in their own tongue, have their name from the painted body (*à picto corpore*), for that they are marked by sharp-pointed instruments of iron, with copperas (or other blackish stuff, *atramento*), with the figures of various animals.”* And again, “ some nations, not only in their vestments, but also in their bodies, have certain things peculiar to themselves, as signs (*insignia*), as we see the curls (*cinos*) of the Germans, the grains (*granos*) and vermilion (*cinnabar*) of the Goths, the marks or brands (*stigmata*) of the Britons : nor is there wanting to the nation of the PICTS the name of the body, but the efficient needle, with minute punctures, rubs in the expressed juices of a native herb,

* *Origines*, l. 9, c. 2. This passage is adopted by the old Scottish writer of the *Cronica Pictorum*, who had either found in his copy of Isidore, or has judiciously substituted the proper word, *Picti*.

that it may bring these scars to its own fashion : an infamous nobility, with painted limbs !” * The

* *Ibi*, L. 19, c. 23. This practice, whether of painting or stigmatizing, was by no means peculiar to the Picts. The *Zy-gantes*, an ancient Scythian nation, mentioned by Herodotus, painted themselves with vermilion (*Melpomene*). The *Agathyrsi*, another Scythian nation, painted their bodies over with blue-coloured spots, larger or smaller, and more or less numerous, according to their rank. (Sec Am. Mar. B. 31, c. 2 ; P. Mela, B. 2, c. 11.) Virgil, too, calls them *Picti Agathyrsi* (*Æn.* B. 4, v. 146). Among the *Daci* and *Sarmatæ*, as Pliny observes, the men inscribed their bodies as the barbarian women in some places besmeared each others faces (B. 22, c. 1). He also says that the *Tribaruni* and *Mossani* branded and marked their bodies with hot searing irons (B. 6, c. 4). Virgil, moreover, mentions the “*picti scuta Labici*” (*Æn.* B. 3, v. 796), and the “*pictos Gelonos*” (*Geor.* B. 2, v. 115) ; as Martial does the “*picti Mauri*” (L. 10, E. 6). Tacitus, of the *Arii*, a community of the Lygians, a German nation, says, their bodies were painted black. “All the Britons,” according to the positive testimony of Julius Cæsar, “in general painted themselves with woad, which gave a bluish cast to their skins, and made them look dreadful in battle.” (*De B. G. L.* 5, c. 10. See also P. Mela, L. 3, c. 6.) “They likewise,” according to Herodian, “dyed their skins with the pictures of various animals, which was one principal reason for their wearing no clothes, because they were loath to hide the fine paintings on their bodies.” (B. 3.) Propertius, in allusion to this practice, calls them “*infectos Britannos*” (L. 2, E. 14) ; Ovid (*De amore*, L. 2, c. 16), “*virides Britannos* ;” Martial (L. 14, E. 99), “*pictis Britannis*,” and (L. 11, E. 54) “*cœruleis Britannis* ;” Lucan (L. 3), “*flavis Britannis* ;” and Se-

Roman writers, as well as Gildas, Bede, Nennius, and Paul Warnfrid, uniformly call these people

neca (De Claudio), “cœruleos scuta Brigantes.” After this cloud of decisive evidence comes the veracious and modest Mr Pinkerton, and affirms “there is not the smallest authority to believe that the ‘Welch’ Britons ever painted themselves at all;” adding, that Cæsar, “when he passed into Britain, found such Britons as he saw at all, that is, the *Belgæ*, a Gothic people, painted; and he, of course, ascribes this custom to the Britons in general.” (*Enquiry*, I. 126.) We must therefore prefer the naked assertion of John Pinkerton to the ocular evidence of Julius Cæsar. The *Brigantes*, however, were not *Belgæ*, and they, at least, had blue shields; neither are they *Belgæ*, but *Brigantes*, Caledonians, or northern Britons, who are described by Herodian and Dio. Beside, why should the *Belgæ* of *Britain* be peculiarly addicted to a practice unobserved by the *Belgæ* of *Gaul*? For *Scuta Brigantes*, Scaliger, both unwarrantably and absurdly, proposed to read *Scoto Brigantes*; but the *picti Scuta Labici* of Virgil is a synonymous expression. See also Solinus (C. 22), who, speaking of this custom of the Britons, says that these figures, or images, were made by means of wounds or punctures, in young boys, and increased in size with the growth of the man. It appears even, from William of Malmesbury, that the Saxons, Angli, or Engles, about the time of the Norman conquest, were “picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti” (*De G. R. A.*, I. 3, p. 102): and it is to this usage, no doubt, of the same people, we are to refer a decree of the council of *Cealc-hythc*, in Mercia, held in the year 785, in which it is said, “Si quid ex ritu Paganorum remansit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie; pagani vero, diabolico instinctu, cicatrices teterrimas super induxerunt. . . . Certe si pro deo

Picti ;* king Alfred, in his Saxon translation from Orosius, calls them *Peohtas* ; to which the Saxon

aliquis *hanc tincturæ injuriam* sustineret, magnam inde remunerationem acciperet : sed quisquis ex superstitione gentilium *id agit*, non ei proficit ad salutem." (Spelmans *Concilia*, Wilkins, I. 150.) Mr Pinkerton, to make this decree apply to the Picts, places Calcot in Northumbria, and alters 785 to 787, when a different council was held at Pincanheale, properly Finchal, in that province. It is, nevertheless, perfectly true that no such practice is by any ancient writer, Greek or Roman, ever imputed to the Gauls. Vegetius (*De re militari*, l. 5, c. 7) says, "Spy-boats are associated with the greater galleys, which may have nearly twenty rowers in all parts : these the Britons call *Pictæ*. Lest, however, the spy-boats should be betrayed by their whiteness, their sails and ropes are painted with blue (*colore veneto*), (which is like the waves of the sea) : the wax also, with which they use to besmear their ships, is coloured. The mariners, likewise, or soldiers, put on a blue coat (*venetam vestem*), that, not by night only, but also by day, those who are on the look-out may the more easily lie hid." Some MSS., it seems, have *picatos* ; instead of which it has been proposed to read *piraticas*, as swift ships are called by Sallust (l. 2), and Nonius Marcellus : but that, it should be observed, was the Roman name, not the British. Stewerhius thinks it should be *pinças*, pinks.

* The last of these writers (Paulus Diaconus) has, in two or more places, *Pictonum*, and sometimes *Pictorum*, but always *Picto*, and never *Pictones*. *Pictonum*, also, is an error for *Pictorum* in some editions of Claudian. These mistakes, however, seem to prove that the name, *Pictones*, must have been familiar to the copyists ; and an instance of it, where it could not proceed (like *Pictonum*) from the mistake of a letter, has been already noticed.

chronicle adds, *Pyhtas*, and *Pihtum*; Witichind, *Pehiti*; Ethelwerd, in one place, *Peohtas*; the Welsh, *Phichtjaid*;* the Irish annals, in Latin, *Picti*, and once *Pictones*; in Irish, *Cruithne*; and in the English version of the Irish part, *Pights* and *Cruthens*;† Robert of Gloucester, *Picardes*, *Picars*, or *Pygars*; Robert of Brunne, *Peihtes*; Thomas, bishop of Orkney, *Petæ*; and Wyntown, *Peychtis*; the pronunciation, it seems, of the common people of Scotland to this day.§ No synonymous term is to be found in any Greek writer; nor would any per-

* *Id est*, Phictianos. (Llwyd, p. 48.)

† General Vallancey pretends that a “colony recorded in the Irish history are said to be the *Cruiti*, or *Cruitni*, or *Peacti*.” “As a Chllathamhnas Eiremoin tangadur *Cruitnith* no *Peacti*, sluagh do thriall on Tracia go Eirinn,” without naming the book or author, [*i. e.* in the reign of Eremon, the *Cruiti*, or *Cruitni*, or *Peacti*, migrated from Thrace to Ireland.] Herodotus, he says, places the *Pactyæ* and *Crithoti* in Thracia Chernosesus. “These *Peacti* or *Pactyæ*,” he adds, “are not the *Picti*, or wood-painted Britons, (the Welsh,) described by Cæsar. They are distinguished by the Scots by the name of *Peacti*, a word that sounds exactly as *Pactyæ*.” (*Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, IV. xvii. xix.) So, according to this, the *Picts* of Ireland are the *Pactyæ* of Thrace.

§ Not, as Sir James Ware conjectures, from the ancient Irish word *cruith*, implying forms and figures, nor, still less, as Ossian Macpherson pretends, from *Cruithneacht*, wheat, but from their first monarch and father, “*Cruidne* [*Cruithne*] filius *Cingc*.”

son (one would have imagined) pretend to discover either the name or the people in the *Pici*, *Peukini*, &c. of ancient history. That they are ever to be found in Norway, where, it is pretended, they were called *Vikir*, and their country *Vik*; and that the name was “really pronounced *Vets* and *Vetland*,” are assertions without a shadow of proof, and, in reality, equally false and foolish.*

* Mr Pinkerton asserts that the Saxon chronicle and king Alfred call the Picts “*Pihtar*, *Pyhtar*, *Pchtar*, *Peohhtar*” (*Enquiry*, I. 180); and says, “In Norway, the real ancient name seems to have been *Pihtar*, as we find it in the Saxon chronicle; but afterward *Vihtar*, as in the Sagas” (173); apparently an additional falsehood; as is, likewise, his supposition that *Vikar* is synonymous with *Pikar*, and that *Jutland* was anciently called *Vitland*, or *Pitland*” (I. 182); as well as his assertion that “the old *Piks* of Norway are called *Vikir*, and their country *Vik*;” and “that the British *Piks*, calling themselves *Pelts*, the name was softened to *Pets*, but really pronounced *Vets* and *Vetland*” (I. 370): that “the proper name of the people, or that which they gave themselves, was *Pihtar*, or *Piks*” (I. 125. 280): and that “the Saxon translation by Alfred is *Mid thy Peohhtar*,” &c. (261), as he has it elsewhere (*Dissertation*, p. 176, &c.) He afterward, it is true, contradicts himself (II. 36); but finally returns to his original text. “The *Pchtar*, or *Pechtar*, of the Saxon chronicle,” II. 118; the *Piks* he (Alfred) frequently mentions by the names of *Pchtar*, *Pihtar*, *Pyhtar*, *Peohhtar*,” 166; “The *Piks*, as is clear from the writings of king Alfred, the Saxon chronicle, Witichind, &c. called themselves *Pihtar*, *Pchtar*, *Peohhtar*” (232. 244, 245): and says, “It may well be inferred that in times preceding

§ 3. The Picts, before their arrival and settlement in the north of Britain, seem to have established themselves in the Orcades, or Orkney Islands. We have this fact on the authority of Nennius. “ After an interval,” he says, “ of many years, (from the time, that is, of Heli the high priest, when *Brito* (a nouentity) reigned in Britain, and *Posthumus*, his brother, (the like,) over the Latins,) not less than 900, [about 256 before Christ,] the Picts came and occupied the islands which are called Orcades ; and afterward, from the neighbouring isles, wasted many and not small regions, and occupied them in the left (*i. e.* north) part of Britain, and remain to this day. There the third part of Britain they held, and hold till now.”* An additional proof of their

any sagas, or other memorials of Norwegian history, the whole Norwegians were called *Pihtar*, as being *Peukini*” (II. 174). Neither *Pihtar*, however, nor *Pyhtar*, *Pchtar*, *Peoltar*, or *Pcchtar*, is anywhere used, either by Alfred, Witichind, the Saxon chronicle, or any other author ; and this repeated blunder has, in all probability, originated in this great Saxon scholars proficiency in the language, which did not enable him to distinguish an *s* from an *r*.

* “ Post intervallum annorum multorum non minus DCCCC. Picti venerunt et occupaverunt insulas, quas *Orcades* vocantur ; et postea ex insulis affinitimis vastaverunt non modicas et multas regiones, occupaveruntque eas in sinistrali plaga Britanniae, et manent usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi tertiam partem Britanniae tenuerunt, et tenent usque nunc.” *C. 5.*

being settled in these islands, is afforded by an epistle, or certificate, in legal form, of Thomas de Tulloch, bishop of Orkney and Zetland, to Eric, king of Denmark and Norway, in 1403; wherein he informs him, that in the time of Harold Harfager, first king of Norway, *An.* 900, the land or country of the islands of Orkney was inhabited and cultivated by two nations; that is to say, the *Pets* and the *Papes* (*Peti et Papæ*); which two nations had been radically and entirely destroyed by the Norwegians of the race or tribe of the most strenuous prince Ronald, as well as by the name of “*Picts, or Pights houses,*” which appears to be still given to certain ancient buildings in those parts.* How long they kept possession of the Orkneys, does not appear; but that either there were Picts in those islands, or the inhabitants, whoever they

* Wallace’s *Account of the Islands of Orkney*, London, 1700, p. 121, 106; and Brands *New Description of Orkney*, &c. Edin. 1703, p. 14. Mr James Mackenzie, a shrewd and sensible man, “distinguished between the *Peltæ*, ancient inhabitants of Orkney and its isles, and the *Picts*, a people of the south part of Scotland and England.”—(Goughs *British Topography*, II. 725.) It is, nevertheless, probable, that he had not a sufficient warrant for such a distinction; at any rate, there were no Picts settled in England. The *Papæ* are supposed to have been monks or priests.

might be,* were in some degree subject to the sovereigns of the British Picts; even so late as the middle of the sixth century, is manifest from a passage in the life of Saint Columba, by Adomnan his successor, who relates, that certain of the saints people having gone to seek a wilderness in the ocean, he entreated king Brudei, at whose court he was, to recommend to the petty king of the *Orcades*, then present, and whose hostages were in his hands, that, in case they should come to those islands, nothing adverse were done against them within his boundaries; by reason of which commendation of the holy man, Cormac, the chief of this expedition, was delivered in the *Orcades* from immediate death.† In the year 682, we find these islands to have been ravaged by Brudé IV. The Picts, in their first settlement in modern Scotland, were divided from the Britons by the firths of Forth and Clyde; and, consequently, must have been in possession of all the provinces to the north of those firths.‡ They were afterward divided from the

* Claudian places the Saxons there about 360 :

— “ Maduerunt *Saxone* fuso
Orcades.”

† L. 2, c. 43.

‡ Bede, L. 1, c. 1. Gildas, who calls them a transmarine nation, vehemently savage, says, they made their inroads from the north, “ *ab Aquilone.*”

Scots, who settled, according to Bede, in part of the Pictish territory, by a branch of the Grampian hills, extending from those of Athol, through Badenoch, to the coast of Knoydart, or Aresaick, in the north-west;* and from the English, by the firth of Forth.† The kingdom of these Scots, according to Innes,‡ included, in those times, (the age of saint Columba,) all the western islands, together with the countries “of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdayl, Cowell, Kentyre, Lochabyr, and a part of Braid-Albayn, &c.” And the Pictish kingdom, according to the same author, “included all the rest of the north of Scotland, from the friths to the Orkneys.”|| In, and long before, the time of venerable

* *Ibi.* and Innes, p. 85.

† Bede, L. 4, c. 26.

‡ It is supposed by some that the Scots spoken of by Bede were a different colony from that which afterward established itself in the same parts about the year 500. This question will be noticed elsewhere.

|| P. 87. That the Picts had been in possession of the *Hcbudes*, or *Æbudæ*, before the arrival of the Scots, is, doubtless, highly probable; but it was clearly Conal Comgal, son to the king of *Dalriada*, and not Brudé, king of the Picts, (as Bede relates,) who gave *Hì* to saint Columba. See *An. Ul. ad an.*; and Usher, p. 367. Walafrid Strabo, in calling *Hy* “*insula Pictorum*,” may have been misled by Bede. The Picts, however, seem to have retained *Sky*, and perhaps others of the north-west islands, to the time of that saint (See *Adom.* L. 1, c. 33). Mr Pinkerton, it is true, pretends, that “from the

Bede, so early, in short, as the year 400, the Picts formed two nations, the northern and the southern, which were divided from each other by a branch of the Grampian hills.* The northern Picts, therefore, inhabited the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Murray, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. We know, from Adomnans life of saint Columba,

direct authority of Nennius and Samuel, the settlement of the *Piks* in the *Hebud isles*, may be dated, with as great certainty as any event in the earliest Greek or Roman history, at 300 years before Christ," (*Enquiry*, I. 207) ; and that " till the fifth century, the Pikish monarchy was confined to the *Hebudes*, where Solinus found it in the third." (262.) Now the fact is, that neither Nennius nor Samuel (who, indeed, cannot be distinguished) makes the slightest mention of the *Hebud isles*, any more than Solinus does of the *Piks* ; and what degree of credit the two former authors are entitled to, we may collect from other passages of this veracious and consistent inquiry. In vol. I. p. 193, he describes them as a couple of fools, and says, their work, " compared to a Gothic saga," is " as the dream of a madman compared to the dream of a sound mind ;" and in vol. II. p. 290, that it " is full of monstrous fables ;" and (p. 288) that it " is deservedly considered as the weakest that ever bore the name of history ;" its fables being " so childish and grotesque, as to disgrace the human mind. No man, therefore, of the smallest reflection, would found an historic fact on the *sole* testimony of such a work ;" and yet he here founds on their " *sole* testimony" a pretended fact of his own invention, and which, by their silence, or a different narrative, they positively contradict.

* The "*insulis affinitimis [Orcadibus]*" may as well be taken for the *Shetland isles*, as for the *Hebudes*.

that when this holy man had been for some days in the territory of the Picts (*Pictorum provincia*), he had occasion to cross the river Ness. This river, therefore, (which flows from the lake of the same name, by Inverness,) must have been then in the dominion of the northern Picts, whom the author calls "*gentiles barbari*" (barbarous pagans); those of the south having been converted long before. In this part also, at the northmost end, (that is, of Lochness,) was the *domus regia*, or *munitio regalis*, of Brudé.* Nennius, in 858, speaking of the Orkney-islands, says, they are beyond the Picts; and the contemporaneous biographer of St Findan relates, that this saint, being carried away captive by the Normans or Danes, about the end of the eighth century, in their voyage from Ireland to Denmark, they came to certain islands, called the Orkneys, in the neighbourhood of the Pictish nation: "ad quasdam venere insulas, juxta Pictorum gentem quas *Orcades* vocant."† Their occupation of the northernmost parts of Scotland is further manifested by the name of the *Petland*, *Pightland*, or *Pictland*, now *Pentland*, *firth*, ‡ a narrow sea between

* L. 2, c. 28.

† Innes, p. 85.

‡ It is called *Mare Petlandicum* by the bishop of Orkney; "*Penthelande firth*," in D'Arfevilles "*Navigation du roy d'Escoce*," Paris, 1583. fol.; and *Pightland firth* by both Wallace and Brand.

Caithness and the Orkneys, and of the *Pentland skerries*,* certain rocks in the same sea. The poet Claudian says,

“ — incaluit *Pictorum sanguine Thule* ;”

meaning, as Richard of Cirencester suspects, the Roman province of *Vespasiana*, between the wall of Antoninus, and the Varar, or Murray-firth.† The southern Picts, in the time of Ninian, or toward the close of the fourth century, seem to have possessed those regions situate between the Forth and the Grampian hills;‡ and that one of these nations, most probably the latter, afterward occupied Lothian and Galloway, is manifest, from authentic history, and notorious facts. *Muckros*, afterward *Kylrimont*, now *Saint Andrews*, in *Fife*, was “ *in terra Pictorum* ;”§ and it appears from venerable Bede, that Trumuini, bishop of the Picts, resided with his monks in the monastery of *Æbbercurnig*,

* In D'Arfevilles map, 1583, “ *Pithland skare*,” and “ *Pithland syr*.”

† L. 1, c. 6, § 50. The *Thule* of the ancients is now generally thought to be the isles of Shetland. Procopius, however, evidently designs by this name *Scandinavia*, the *Scythia insula* of the great Belgic chronicle. Others, again, suppose it to be *Iceland*. Richard, the only writer who mentions the province of *Vespasiana*, is equally singular in this conjecture.

‡ Usher, p. 350.

§ *Historia B. Reguli, Ex regis S. Andree*, Pinkerton, I. 456 ; *Polychro.* I. 1, p. 186.

placed, he says, in the region of the English, but in the vicinity of the firth which separates the lands of the English and the Picts:* it is Abercorn, in West-Lothian, upon the firth of Forth. The Engles, as appears from the same writer,† as well as from Eddius and Randal Higden, (if worth citing,) frequently possessed themselves of the Pictish territory, both in Lothian and Galloway, without exterminating, or perhaps molesting, the old inhabitants. In 680, Dunbar (*Dyunbaer*), if not the whole of Lothian, was clearly within the dominions of Egfrid, king of Northumberland.‡ We are told by Bede that saint Cuthbert sailed from his monastery at Mailros, “*ad terram Pictorum, quæ Niduari vocatur.*”§ The place meant is, doubtless, *Nidry*, or *Lang-Nidry*, both in Lothian, and not,

* L. 4, c. 26. He expressly says, that in 681, Theodorus ordained Trumwin bishop “*ad provinciam Pictorum, quæ tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subjecta.*” (L. 4, c. 12.)

† He says that Wilfrid, archbishop of York, administered the bishopric not only of all the Northumbrians, but also of the Picts, as far as king Oswy had been able to extend his dominions (L. 4, c. 3); and that Oswy (who was king of the Mercians) subjected the nation of the Picts, for the greatest part, to the dominion of the Engles, though they afterward recovered the land so conquered. (L. 3, c. 24; L. 4, c. 26.)

‡ Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 37.

§ *Vita S. Cudbercti*, c. 11.

as Smith (followed by Pinkerton) conjectures, a people inhabiting the banks of the river *Nid*, running into Solway-firth; whither this holy man could never have gone, from Mailros, in a boat. Even *Edinburgh*, according to the Polychronicon, was a city “*in Pictorum terrâ,*” in the territory of the Picts; and was so called from *Edan*, king of the Picts, who reigned there in the time of Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians.* In Lothian also, at

* L. 1, p. 199. No such Pictish king is mentioned by any other authority, nor is he one himself. The *Cronica Pictorum* (as it seems) calls this city *Eden*, and says, “*In hujus [Indulfi] tempore oppidum Eden, vacuatum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem.*” There is, however, a village in Lothian, upon the Forth, now called *Careden*, which the old capitulist of Gildas, about the twelfth century, who twice mentions it by the name of *Kair Eden*, calls “*civitas antiquissima,*” and may possibly, though of no consequence at present, be the *Eden* of the Pictish chronicle. Alexander I. and David I. call it, in their charters, *Edensburg*, and *Edwynesburg, castrum puellarum, i. e.* Maiden castle, (improperly so translated by some ignorant person, being, in fact, from the old British words, *mai dun*, a great hill); Simeon of Durham, and the chronicle of Lanercost, *Edwinesburch*, and *Edwynesburgh*, “*a conditore suo monarcho Edwyno,*” according to the latter, meaning, it is probable, Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, whose dominions extended to the Forth, and who was slain at Heathfield, in 633. Mr Pinkerton pretends that the *Castrum Puellarum*, mentioned by John of Wallingford as at the northern extremity of *Northumbria*, (a

a short distance from Edinburgh, you have the *Pentland* (*i. e.* *Pehlant*, or *Pictland*) hills, and the village of *Pentland* in their neighbourhood. The firth of Forth, likewise, was anciently called “*mare*

name which the Scottish writers uniformly apply to Edinburgh,) “is a mere translation of the name of *Dumfries*. *Dun-Fres*; *Dun*, Castellum, urbs; *Fru*, *Fre*, virgo nobilis, Icelandic. This,” he adds, “was the name given by the Piks, while the *Cumri* of Cumbria called the same place *Abernith*, as it stands at the mouth of the Nith.” (II. 208.) There is not, however, nor ever was, a place called *Abernith* in that district, nor does any ancient writer say so; the only *Abernith*, or *Aber-nethy*, in Scotland, being in *Strathern*, upon the eastern coast. *Edinburg*, or *Ædenburgh*, by the way, is also a town in Hungary. (See Townsons *Travels*, p. 37.) Its etymology, he says, when written with the diphthong, is from the German language, and signifies, “the solitary waste, or desert town, which name was given it many centuries ago, after it had been destroyed by the army of some foreign prince.” Randal Higden, in another place, positively asserts that the kingdom of the Bernicians extended from the river Tyne to the Scottish sea; and that sometime the Picts there inhabited, as appears, he says, from Bede, B. III. c. 2 (L. 1, p. 203); and supposes the place of residence which Carausius gave to the Picts, in reward for their treachery in the death of Bassianus, (a story he found in Geoffrey of Monmouth,) and where, mixed with Britons, they remained for the subsequent age, was part of southern Albany; to wit, from the wall of Roman workmanship, stretched across as far as the Scottish sea, in which is contained *Galloway et Lothian*, *i. e.* Galloway and Lothian. (*Polychro.* L. 1, p. 209.)

Picticum ;”* not so much, perhaps, as dividing the territory of the Picts from, the kingdom of Northumberland, but as dividing one part of the Pictish territory from another ; since we are expressly told that the southern part of Albany, or Scotland, which is from the river Tweed, as far as the Scottish sea (*i. e.* the firth of Forth), was formerly inhabited by Picts, but nevertheless for some time belonged to the kingdom of the Northumbrian Bernicians, from the first times of the English kings, till the king of Scots, Kenneth MacAlpin, destroyed the Picts, and annexed that part to the kingdom of Scotland.† William of Malmesbury accounts for the failure of the bishopric of *Candida casa*, or Whit-hern, in Galloway, by observing, that it was “ in extrema *Anglorum* ora, et *Scotorum* vel *Pictorum* depopulationi opportuna.”‡ This place, we learn from Bede, belonged, in his time, to the province of the Bernicians ; §

* Llwyd, p. 62.

† *Polychronicon*, L. 1, p. 194. He repeats it as above, L. 1, p. 209. See also J. de Wallingford, p. 544 ; and Usher, p. 212, 213.

‡ L. 3.

§ L. 3, c. 4. It further appears, from this ancient writer, that *Incuningum*, now *Cuningham*, was “ in regione *Nordanhumbrorum*” (L. 5, c. 13) ; and, from the short continuation at the end of his great work, that in 750 Eadbert added to his kingdom “ campum *Cyil* [now *Kyle*] cum aliis regionibus.”

and Higden expressly describes it as *in terra Pictorum*, and says, that both Galloway and Lothian (*Galvodia et Lodonia*) were anciently given up to the Picts; but that the former was *terra Pictorum*, or the country of the Picts, even so late as the middle of the twelfth century, we have the still more respectable authority of John and Richard, priors of Hexham.* The division of the northern and southern Picts involves, nevertheless, a considerable degree of obscurity and confusion.† In the first

* Even Mr Pinkerton allows, that “the Picts of Galloway were themselves sometimes tributary to the Northumbrian monarchs, whose dominions extended all along their southern frontier. William of Malmesbury,” he says, “and Roger of Chester, testify, that, upon the decay of the Northumbrian kingdom, about the year 820, Whitherne and these southern parts were taken from the *Angli* by the Picts.” (Enquiry, I. 336.) He likewise admits, that “the Picts seem to have retained present *Airshire*” (I. 72), then a part of Galloway; and asserts, that “in *Scotish* Lothian, from Tweed to Forth was the prime residence of the southern Picts; whence that country is termed *Pictorum provincia* by Bede.” (II. 230.) He uses the phrase *Scotish* Lothian, to distinguish it from an *English* Lothian of his own creation, pretending, without the merest shadow of truth or authority, that “there is ground to infer that the whole country, from the Tyne and Newcastle, up to the Forth, was anciently called *Lothenc.*” (II. 210.)

† Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of the Picts, about the year 367, as divided into two nations, the *Dicalcdones* and *Vecturions*; which, for no very clear or satisfactory reason, are supposed to mean the northern and southern Picts. (See B. 27, c. 7.)

place, it is by no means certain that these two nations were governed by their respective kings. The ancient list, extant in the *Cronica Pictorum*, published by Innes, evidently refers to the succession of the northern Picts, who, with their king Brudé, were converted to Christianity, by saint Columbcil, in 565. By that chronicle, however, we find that *Abernethy*, in Strathern, a considerable distance on this side of the *Mounth*, or Grampian hills, the grand territorial division of this people, was the capital or residence of these very kings of the northern Picts, by one of whom it was given to saint Bridget.* Constantin, the son of Fergus, founded *Dunkeld*; † Hungus, the son of Fergus, *Kilrymont*, (afterwards St Andrews;) ‡ Brudé, the church of *Loch-Leven*; § and Drust, the son of Ferat, was killed at *Fortheviot*, or *Scone*, || another royal Pictish seat. ¶ All these persons were kings

* See Innes, p. 778, 779, and 800, and p. 77. “Abernethy is south of the Grampian hills; and of course among those Picts who were converted by St Ninian” [*i. e.* the southern Picts]. (Pinkertons *Enquiry*, I. 257.)

† Innes, p. 800, 801.

‡ *Ibi.*

§ Sib. *History of Fife.*

|| Innes, p. 800, 801.

¶ *Idem*, p. 77. “Kenneth,” according to Pinkerton, “died in his palace of *Forthuir-tabacht*, (*Ch. Pict.*) Fortheviot, (*Ch. Eleg.*) now Fortheviot, near the river Ern, south of Perth, the chief residence of the Pictish kings, after their recovery of Lo-

of the northern Picts, and all these places are on this side of the Grampian hills, or, in other words, in the territory allotted to the southern Picts. The Ulster annals (*A.* 833) call *Aongus Mac Fergus* (whom the *Cronica Pictorum* calls *Unmust filius Wrguist*), (*A.* 819) *Constantin Mac Fergus* (*Constantin filius Wrguist*), (*A.* 762) *Bruide*, (*Breidei filius Uiurgust*), and (*A.* 692) *Bruidé Mac Bile* (*Bridei filius Bili*), kings of *Fortren*; a name which seems to comprehend the whole of *Fife*, and part of *Strathern*, including *Abernethy* and *Forteviot*.* The only Pictish monarch mentioned in those annals, who does not appear in that chronicle, is (*A.* 781) *Duwtalarg*, “*rex Pictorum citra Monah*,” *i. e.* king of the southern Picts, or those on this side of the *Mounth*. For this obscurity and confusion, it seems absolutely impossible to account.†

thian in 684. Before that time, as appears from Adomnan, they resided near Inverness.” (*Enquiry*, II. 177.) It is well known, however, that, between the times of Brudé and Kenneth, they had their royal seat at *Abernethy*.

* These annals, at the year 735, have “*Bellum Twini Ouirbre inter Dalriada et Fortrin* ;” that is, between the Scots and the Picts. See more on this subject in the *Annales Pictorum*, under that year.

† It is probable that the Picts had occasionally made unsuccessful inroads into Cumberland, if they never settled there; as, according to Camden, at Moresby, near Whitehaven. in

§ 4. The government of this people was certainly monarchical ; generally, in a single person ; but, occasionally, in two together, as will appear by the ancient list of their kings, compiled, apparently, in the tenth century, and preserved in a manuscript of

that county, are several caverns called *Picts-holes* ; peradventure from having been either the burial or the lurking-places of this people.

There were also Picts settled in Ireland, who had probably never been in Britain. The Irish writers call them *Cruithné*. The Ulster Annals, in Latin and English, always term the British Picts, *Picti*, *Pictones*, or *Pights*, to distinguish them from the Irish, *Cruithne*, *Crutheni*, *Cruthine*, or *Cruthens*. In the Irish original, the name of *Cruithne* is common to both. (See, as to these Irish Picts, Ushers *Antiquitates*, p. 302 ; *Patricii Opuscula*, by Ware, p. 27, 113 ; O'Flahertys *Ogygia*, p. 188 ; and the printed extracts from the Ulster annals. The Welsh appear to have given them the name of *Y Gwydhil Phichtiaid*. (Sir John Prises's *Description of Wales*, prefixed to "*The Historie of Cambria*," 1584.) They are here stated to have over-run the sea-shore of Caerdigan about the year 540 ; and, in the life of saint Teliav, a certain prince of that nefarious people had, killing the miserable inhabitants, and burning houses, and the temples of the church, proceeded from where they landed to the city of Menevia (now Saint Davids), and there settled and erected his palace. In order to pervert the saints, David and Eliad, from their holy purposes, he sent to them certain women, who, pretending to be mad, actually became so ; whereupon he and his whole house received the faith, and were by them baptized in the name of Christ. (*Vita S. Teliavi, Anglia sacra*, II. 662.)

the twelfth or thirteenth. If we may rely upon the tradition delivered by venerable Bede, the Picts, on their original settlement in the north of Britain, received wives from the Scots of Ireland, on condition "that where the matter [*i. e.* the descent of the crown] should come in doubt, they should choose for themselves a king rather of the feminine side, than of the masculine : which," he adds, "until this day appears to be preserved among the Picts."* That there is some countenance for this tradition will appear from the succession of the Pictish monarchs, in which we frequently find brother succeeding to brother, but never son, immediately, to father ; nor even, except in a couple of comparatively modern instances, when the old constitution would seem to have received a shock, after an intermediate reign.

§ 5. It is certain that the most ancient name of Britain was *Albion*, not, as is generally, but absurdly, supposed, from its *white cliffs*, the name not being imposed by the Romans, in whose language alone *albus* signifies *white* ; but rather from its high rocky coast, or interior mountains.† Adom-

* L. 1, c. 2.

† See Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, L. 1. *Huc-tiana*, p. 202. Neptune had two sons, *Albiona* and *Bergion*, whom Hercules fought against in Gaul ; and, his darts being

nan, in the life of saint Columba, calls the range of hills, in present Scotland, which divided from each other, by different branches, as well the Scots and the Picts, as the Picts themselves, *Dorsum Britanniaë*, a translation, it would seem, of the indige- nous appellation *Bruin-Alban*, or *Drum-Alban*,* whence it may be inferred that either the whole island, or, at least, the northern part of it, bore the name of *Alban*, or *Albany*, an appellation of identical import with the ancient *Albion* in the sixth century. Certain it is that the ancient *Caledonia*, or modern *Scotland*, had obtained the name of *Albania*, or *Albany*, before the year 1070; † a name it preserved till after the twelfth; when it was super- seded by that of *Scotia*, or, as it were, *New*, or

exhausted, he was assisted with a shower of stones. (Pom. Mela. L. 2. c. 5.)

* “Ad montem *Bruianalban*.” See the old treatise *De situ Albaniaë*, in Innes’s Appendix. Num. I., where it is a second time called *Brunalban*, and the author, in a third instance, as- sumes it for the name of *Dalriada*; “*Brunalban* sive *Brun- here*.” *Druim*, however, and not *Brun* or *Bruin*, is Irish for *back*. See O’Brien’s Dictionary.

† See Usher. *Veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge*, in the preface. It is even called *Albania* by Roger Hoveden, under the year 1166; as well as by Gervase of Tilbury, about the same age: “Ab aquilone est *Albania* quæ nunc *Scotia* dicitur.” (*Otia imperialia*, d. 2.)

Little Ireland.* The parts inhabited by the Picts, which Adomnan and Bede call the *provincia*, or *terra, Pictorum*, were also denominated *Pictinia*, † or *Pictavia*, ‡ as those possessed by the Scots were called *Dalriada* : the name of *Scotia*, or *Scotland*, being never given to the north of Britain till about the beginning of the eleventh century, to which period it was peculiarly appropriated to Ireland, the mother-country of the Scots : || a fact of the utmost notoriety and authenticity, and only to be controverted by ignorance or folly. *Albania*, at the same time, though synonymous with *Scotia*, after, that is, the eleventh century, seems to have been, occasionally at least, distinguished from Ar-

* See Pinkertons *Enquiry*, II. 235, and the authorities there quoted. It is remarkable that neither Gildas, nor Bede, nor Nennius, appears to have known any thing of the name of *Albion*, or *Albania* ; though the last mentions the “ Albanorum reges ” of Italy, “ qui [à Silvio, Æneæ filio] Silvii sunt appellati.” Scotland, however, is always called *Albania*, by Geofrey of Monmouth, from Albanact, a younger son of Brutus ; a fable which is adopted by the old treatise *De situ Albanix*. Othere, in the account of his voyage to king Alfred, calls the country of the British Scots *Iraland*.

† See Usher, *Antiquitates*, p. 360 ; Innes, p. 772.

‡ In the *Cronica Pictorum*. Saxo-Grammaticus calls it *Petia* : “ *Scotix ac Pctix* ; ” i. e. Ireland and Pictland. (L. 9. p. 171.) He is speaking of Regner Lodbrog, about 830.

|| See Usher, p. 379, &c.

gyle, the original seat of the British Scots: since the author of the old treatise *De situ Albanicæ*, speaks of the “Montes qui dividunt Scotiam ac Arregathel;” and, in the *Scotichronicon*,* we have “*Ergadium* adjacentem ipsi *Albanicæ* :” but whether the name of *Albanach*, or *Albanich*, were peculiar to the Scots or the Picts, or common to both, is a question very difficult to decide. At the battle of Cowton-moor, in 1138, the Scottish army, in which there was a considerable body of Galwegian Picts, exclaimed all together their national slug-horn, or war-cry (*insigne patrium*), *Albani! Albani!* the clamour, according to the old historian, ascending to the heavens.† From the retort, how-

* L. 11, c. 49.

† H. Huntingdon, L. 8, p. 388. “*Gentes Scitiæ*,” says the old Pictish chronicle, “*albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti et Picti.*” Mr Pinkerton, however, in spite of all evidence and authority, maintains that “there is no ground whatever to infer that the name of *Albani* was ever, in ancient times, assumed by the *Dalreudini*, or present Celtic highlanders.” (*Enquiry*, II. 233.) Richard of Cirencester, it is remarkable, among the Caledonian nations of Roman Britain, enumerates the “*Damni Albani: gentes*,” he adds, “*parum notæ, et intra lacuum montium que claustra plane recondita.*” This people he places below the *Vacomagi* and the *Tay*: between the *Lelamonius sinus*, that is (as appears by his map), or *Lochfine*, and the *Longus fluvius*, or *Lochaber*: now *Lorn*. These *Albani*, no

ever, made by the English, after the battle, of *Yri! Yri! Standard!** it would seem that the latter name (*Irish*), applied by strangers, was a term of reproach, as *Albani*, assumed by themselves, was of honour. The word *Albanach*, also in O'Briens Irish Dictionary, is rendered "*Scottish*, also a *Scot*," as *Alban*, *Albain*, is "the name of Scotland." The Scottish highlanders, moreover, to this day, distinguish both themselves, and their native dialect, from the original Irish (*Erinach*), by the names of *Gael* and *Gaidhlig Albannaich*.† What particular name was given by the Picts, either to the whole

doubt, like all others, took their name from their situation. The *Albani* of Latium, who became citizens of Rome, were so called from the *Albanus mons* near that city. Others, by way of distinction, were called *Albenses*; and there were both *Albienses* and *Albiaci* in Gaul. Strabo, who mentions the two latter, has given a description of the *Albani* of Mount Caucasus, and of their country *Albania*. (L. 11, p. 499, &c.) Suidas, likewise, gives *Albani* as the name of a nation of the Gauls, (p. 100,) and there is another *Albania*, Upper and Lower, the latter being the ancient Epirus, and the former part of Macedonia. See also the *Huctiana*, already referred to. Torfæus, according to Pinkerton, mentions *Mor Alban*, in Scandinavia. "In Germany," he adds, "any high hills are called *Alben*;" and cites Eccards *Origines Germanicæ* to the same effect. (*Enquiry*, II. 233.)

* Lambards *Dictionary*, p. 16.

† They are, likewise, so distinguished by the Irish. See the title of the Irish Bible, where *Goidheilg* is used for *Irish*, and *Gaidhheail Albanach*, for *Erse*.

island of Britain, or to that part of it which they themselves inhabited, is quite uncertain. It must have been the Saxons, and not the Picts, who called the latter *Peohtland* or *Pehtland*, i. e. *Pictland*.*

§ 6. Of the primitive religion of the Picts, few particulars are preserved. We only know, from the information of Adomnan, that they worshipped, venerated, or paid divine honours to a certain fountain, which those who drank of, or intentionally washed their hands or feet in, were, by gods permission, so stricken by the art of demons, that they returned either leprous, or blind of an eye, or maimed, or infested with some other infirmities; † and that they had not only magi, or priests, who could raise contrary winds, and dark mists, ‡ and thought their own gods more powerful than that of the Christian missionaries, § but also wizards, or sorcerers, who could milk a bull. || Of their marriage ceremonies we are uninformed; but that they buried, and did not burn their dead, appears from the same respectable authority. ¶

* “When the Saxons seized Lothian, they called it *Pikland*, the Piks retaining their possessions under the Saxons.” (*Enquiry*, I. 144.)

† L. 2, c. 10.

‡ L. 2, c. 35.

§ L. 2, c. 33.

|| L. 2, c. 16.

¶ L. 2, c. 28.

In their domestic economy they retained Scottish slaves,* and used drinking-glasses ;† and in war they made use of darts, or javelins, and lances ;‡ and their kings, or commanders, occasionally rode in chariots.¶ As to their dress, they rather, according to Gildas, covered “ their villainous countenances with hair, than the shameful parts of their bodies, and those next to the shameful parts with clothes.”§ This, however, must be participated with the Irish allies, who are always “ shag-haired villains.”

§ 7. The language of the Picts is expressly distinguished by Bede, as one of the five spoken in Britain at the time he was writing. “ Hæc in præ-senti,” says he, “ juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est, *quinque gentium linguis, unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutator et confitetur, Anglorum, videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, PICTORUM, et Latino-rum.*”¶ It was, therefore, different from that of the Anglo-Saxons or English, the Britons or Welsh, and the Scots or Irish. At the same time, that it was a Celtic idiom, and had some degree of affinity, of course, with the Welsh or British, and perhaps,

* Adom. L. 2, c. 34. † Idem, *ibi*.

‡ H. Hunting. Gildas relates that they drew the helpless Britons from the wall by hooked darts (“ *uncinata tela*”).

¶ Adom. L. 1, c. 7. § C. 15. ¶ L. 1, c. 11.

also, though more remotely, with the Irish or Scottish, is manifest from another passage of the above venerable historian. The Roman wall, he says, (meaning that of Antoninus,) began at almost two miles distance from the monastery of *Æbercurmig*, now Abercorn, on the west, at a place which, in the Pictish language (*sermone Pictorum*), was called *Peanfahel*, but, in the English or Saxon language, *Peneltun*.* Now this identical place Nennius, a Briton, calls *Pengaul*, (the wall, which he erroneously confounds with that of Severus, being, he says, in the British tongue called *Gual*,) which town was called in Scottish *Cenail*, but in English *Peneltun*.† It is, therefore, evident that the word

* L. 1, c. 12.

† C. 19. It may be inferred, from what is here said, that the Picts pronounced the *gu* or *w* of the Britons as *f*; i. e. *fahel* for *gaaul*, or *wall*: a pronunciation which, it is observable, characterises to this day the native inhabitants of Angus, Buchan, Murray, and other shires on the eastern coast, beyond the firth of Forth, all which, it is well known, were anciently inhabited by Picts.

“ One monument I met with, within four miles of Edinburgh [near Queensferry], different from all I had seen elsewhere, and never observed by their antiquaries. I take it to be the tomb of some Pictish king, though situate by a river side, remote enough from any church. It is an area of about seven yards diameter, raised a little above the rest of the ground, and encompassed with large stones, all which stones are laid lengthwise, excepting one larger than ordinary, which

Pean in Pictish, as *Pen* in British, and *Cean* in Scottish or Irish, signified *head*, and *fahel* in the first of those languages, as *gaaul* in the second, (both, indeed, borrowing corruptly from the Latin *vallum*,) a *wall*: meaning, like *Cenail*, the head of the wall:* and, consequently, that there was

is pitched on end, and contains this inscription, in the barbarous characters of the fourth and fifth centuries, *In oc tumulo jacit Vetta f. Victi*. This the common people call the *Catstene*, whence I suspect the person's name was *Getus*, of which name I find three Pictish kings." [The stone was still standing in September 1801.] Lhwyds *Letter to Rowland*, (*Mona antiqua*, p. 313.)

The conversion of *P* into *V* was undoubtedly common: but there never was a Pictish king named *Getus*; though *Gede* or *Ghede* has crept into the old lists of St Andrews, Fordun, and Wyntown. There is one, however, called *Vist*, but both these were in fabulous times; and, after all, there is no necessity to suppose this *Vetta* a king, at least a principal king, though he may possibly have been a Pict of some rank or consequence. An inscription, mentioned by Camden, to be found at Rome among the antiquities of Saint Peters church, reads, "Asterius comes Pictorum, et Syra, cum suis, votis solvére." P. 85; Usher, 376. So that, it would appear, there were titles of nobility among the Picts: if, that is, we are not imposed upon.

* It is the village of *Kinnel*, or *Kinnel*, in West Lothian. Baxter says, that in Welsh, *Pen-y-wall* is the head of the wall; but this, as Mr Pinkerton remarks, is not *Peanvahel*. It is, however, very like it. "The Pictish word," he pretends, "is broad Gothic, *paena*, 'to extend,' Thre; and *vahel*, a broad sound of *veal*, the Gothic for 'wall.'" (I. 358.) "To such heights will ignorance arise!" (I. 200.)

some analogy between the British language and that of the Picts, each being a branch from the Celtic stem, unless, indeed, it may be contended that the Picts, like the Saxons, had merely adopted the British name of the place in question, without troubling themselves to express its meaning in their proper tongue. The fact in question may be further elucidated and confirmed by another circumstance. All names of places, according to the reverend Thomas Fleming, beginning with *Bal*, *Col* or *Cul*, *Dal*, *Drum*, *Dun*, *Inch* or *Innes*, *Auchter*, *Kil*, *Kin*, *Glen*, *Mon*, and *Strath*, are of Gaelic [*i. e.* Irish] origin. Those beginning with *Aber* and *Pit*, are supposed to be *Pictish* names, and do not occur beyond the territory which the Picts are thought to have inhabited.* Upon this principle is supported the position that the Pictish language must

* *Statistical Account of Scotland* (parish of Kircaldy), XVIII. 1. See also Innes's *Critical essay*, p. 76, where the word *Strat*, or *Strath*, is taken into the account of the Picts. It does not, however, occur in Lhuyds *Comparative vocabulary*, nor in its present sense in the Irish dictionary, unless it be the same with *Sraith*, a bottom or valley. *Stradbally*, also, is the name of several places in Ireland. Mr Warton, from some "judicious antiquaries," whom he does not name, says, "The names of places and persons, over all that part of Scotland which the Picts inhabited, are of Scandinavian extraction." (*History of English poetry*, I. Dissertation 1.) A gross falsehood, if there be truth in history.

have been a dialect of, or borne some resemblance to, the Welsh or British, in which the prefix *Aber*, in the name of a place, is common. It must at the same time be remembered, that the north of Britain was inhabited by the Caledonians, or native Britons, before the Picts arrived there ; if, indeed, this will account for there being *Pits* and *Abers* nowhere else.* That the Pictish language, however, was not intelligible to the Scots, nor the Scottish to the Picts, we know from the circumstance of saint Columba, when in the country of the Picts, being under the necessity of employing an interpreter.† That they spoke Gothic is, if not a palpable falsehood, asserted without the slightest shadow of authority, and merely for the support of a groundless and self-contradictory system.‡ Little further light can be thrown upon this subject by the proper names of the Picts, most of which are unknown to occur in the language of any other people : as, for instance, *Alpin*,* *Aleth*,* *Artbrannan*,|| *Bili*,* *Bred*,* *Broichan*,|| *Brudé*,*|| *Cæstain*,* *Cealtraim*,* *Cenelath*,§ *Conal*,* *Derili*,* *Dadrest*,* *Domelech*,* *Drest* or *Drust*,* *Duvtalarg*,§

* *Cro. Pictorum.*

† Adom, l. 1, c. 33. l. 2, c. 33.

‡ Mr Pinkerton supposes “Pikish” a branch of “the ancient Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic” (I. 352); and speaks of “the *Lowland Scottish*, or *modern Pikish*.” (I. 358.)

|| Adom.

§ *An. Ul.*

Drostan, § *Emchat*, || *Enfret*,* *Erp*,* *Entifidich*,*
Foistgirn, || *Galam*,* *Galanan Etilich*,* *Gartnach*,*
Garnard,* *Gyrom*,* *Hungus*,* *Iogenan*, || *Ken-*
neth,* *Lugucen Calath*, † *Meilchon*,* *Muircholaich*,*
Munait, *Nechtan*,* † *Talore*,* *Talorgan*, *Tarain* ||
or *Taran*,* *Udrest*,* *Uthoil*,* *Vigen*, † *Virolic*, †
Wid,* *Wirdech*,* *Wirgust*,* *Wrad* or *Wroid*.* †

† *Nectan*, a holy man, appears from Camden to be mentioned by William of Malmesbury. *Natan leod* was a king of Southern Britons about 508. See *Chro. Sax.*

‡ The following names occur in an extract from the register of Saint Andrews (*Enquiry*, I. 458): *Howonam*, *Nechtan*, *Phingueghert*, the three sons of king Hungus; *Finchem*, his queen; and *Mouren*, his daughter. Those of the Irish Picts, as preserved in the Annals of Ulster, are *Aillila*, *Bedan*, *Bece*, *Cæthasao*, *Caniscuarhin*, *Cin*, *Duncan*, *Dungarte*, *Fiachrach*, *Flahrua*, *Finrin*, *Lorenin*, *Maoiledum*, *Maolcaich*, or *Maoleasich*, and *Skanlaich*, or *Scannal*, to which Adomnan enables us to add *Echniuslaid*. The charter of Hungus, printed by Sir Robert Sibbald, in *The History of Fife*, though of very suspicious authority, affords the following names: *Anegus*, *Bargah*, *Bargoth*, *Bolge*, *Chana*, *Chalturan*, *Chinganena*, *Demene*, *Dosnach*, *Drusti*, *Dudabrath*, *Forchclc*, *Garnach*, *Gigherty*, *Glummerach*, *Lucheren*, *Nachtalech*, *Nactan*, *Pheradath*, *Pherath*, *Phiachan*, *Phinleich*, *Shinah*, *Taran*, *Thalarg*, *Withrossi*, *Ythernbuthib*; all of whom are said to have been of the blood royal. However this may be, *Phinleich* was certainly an Irish name, being that of Macbeths father, as well as saint Brendanes. *Pheradath* and *Pherath*, *Bargah* and *Bargoth*, seem the same names.

The only Pictish word, beside *pean* and *fahel*, already spoken of, not being the proper name of man or place, still preserved, is *Geone*, the name, it would seem, of a particular military cohort among the Picts.* Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, who wrote the first seven books of his history before 1139, having, after Bede, enumerated the five languages formerly used in Britain, adds, “although the Picts seemed then destroyed, and their language so utterly perished, that what mention was found of them in the writings of the ancients then seemed a fable.” He considers the extinction of the language of the Picts as even more wonderful than that of their kings, princes, and people: “Et, si de aliis mirum non esset, de lingua tamen, quam unam inter cæteras deus ab exordio linguarum instituit, *mirandum videtur.*” It is, therefore, clear that no vestiges of the Pictish language remained in the age of this writer, nor, excepting the few proper names already noticed, are any such to be now found.

§ 8. That the Picts had some knowledge of letters, after, at least, their conversion to Christianity, may be inferred from the message of their king Nechtan to Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, whose

* “*Artbrauanus, decrepitus senes, primarius Geone cohortis.*” (Adom. L. 1, c. 33.)

prolix Latin letter the king had translated into his own language, having, in fact, been led to this application by the frequent perusal and meditation of ecclesiastical writings, and being already in no small degree master of the subject. The old treatise, also, *De situ Albanie* (an extract, it is probable, from the *Topographia Britannie* of Girald Barry), says, “Legimus in historiis et in chronicis antiquorum Britonum, et in gestis et annalibus antiquis Scottorum et Pictorum;” which may be thought to prove, as father Innes remarks, that there were annals of the Picts, which were deemed ancient even in the twelfth century, though not, perhaps, composed either by Picts themselves, or in the vernacular idiom of that people: but, from the subject referred to, that the country then corruptly called Scotland, was anciently called *Albany*, from *Albanact*, the younger son of *Brutus*, the first king of the Britons, it is evident that these *historiæ et chronica antiquorum Britannorum*, were nothing more than the romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth, little older than Giralds own time, and from which the *gesta et annales antiqui* of the Scots and Picts must necessarily have been extracted or compiled. The original register of Saint Andrews, which quoted Pictish books, “Sicut in veteribus Picto-

rum libris scripta reperimus,"* would, probably, if recoverable, throw some further light upon the subject, as might, likewise, the "*Chronica ecclesie de Abirnethy*," quoted in the *Scotichronicon*,† if still extant.‡

§ 9. That the Picts were, for the most part, actually destroyed and exterminated by Kenneth MacAlpin, is, if not absolutely certain, at least highly probable ; or, rather, in fact, not at all probable, but certainly or substantially true ; if, that is, we may rely on positive authorities, and circumstantial evidence. We indeed find Picts in the Scottish army at the battle of Brunanburgh in 938, and the inhabitants of Galloway so called, about the middle of the twelfth century ; but these could only be a very small portion of such a populous and

* Sibbalds *History of Fife*, p. 68.

† L. 4, c. 12.

‡ In the library of the duke of Norfolk (now belonging to the Royal Society), according to the Oxford catalogue, tom. 2, part 1, num. 3222, is a MS. entitled "*Historia de terrâ Picticâ, in lingua Picticâ exarata*;" but it turns out to be "only a Latin treatise (written in Irish characters) of logic, ethics, and physics, in the old Aristotelian way;" though the false title appears to have induced the noble purchaser to give five pounds for what was not, in reality, worth five farthings. (See Nicolsons *Scottish historical library*, edition of 1736, p. 22.)

powerful nation ; and what, then, had become of the rest ? Never, after the accession of Kenneth, do we meet, in history or charter, with a single Pictish name. The Nectans, Brudés, Bilis, &c. (names, no doubt, common to the people as well as to the sovereign) seem to have entirely disappeared, as if the whole race were at once extinct.* The most favourable construction that can be put upon the conduct of Kenneth, is, that, instead of actually destroying the Picts, to secure peaceable possession of his new throne, or to revenge his fathers death, he merely compelled them to change their names, language, and peculiar manners, so that they could be no longer distinguished from his Scottish subjects. All history, however, such as it is, agrees in the deletion and extermination of the Picts. The *Cronica Pictorum*, which appears to have been written in the tenth century, though exceedingly concise, and apparently imperfect, having said that

* Mr Pinkerton asserts that “ Old Pictish names are found in Scotland at a late æra :” adding that “ Fordun mentions a *Cruthe* or *Cruthen*, de Angus ;” and that “ *Gartnach comes*, or earl Garnat, is witness to a charter of Alex. I.” (*Enquiry*, I. 286.) These two instances, however, admitting them to be Pictish, only serve, by way of exception, to prove the general principle. The name of *Naughton*, as doctor Leyden observed, was the same with that of *Nectan*, the Pictish king,

Pictavia was so named from the Picts, adds, “ quos, *ut diximus*, Kinadius delevit :” but the passage referred to does not, at present, occur. “ Deus enim,” it goes on, “ pro merito suæ malitiæ alienos ac otiosos hæc reditare dignatus est facere : quia illi non solum deum, missam, ac preceptum spreverunt, sed et in jure æquitatis aliis æqui pariter noluerunt.”* The old list of Scottish and Pictish kings, extracted from the register of St Andrews,† says, that Kenneth “ 16 annis super Scotos regnavit, destructis Pictis ;” he reigned sixteen years over the Scots, after the Picts were [by him] destroyed. “ Hic mira calliditate,” it adds, “ duxit *Scotos de Argadia* in terram *Pictorum*.” Gerald Barry, bishop of saint Davids, an author of the twelfth century, has a singular anecdote, not improbably of his own invention, of all the “ magnates *Pictorum*,” or chiefs of the Picts, being slain, by stratagem, at a feast to which they had been invited by the Scots.‡ The strongest, however, and most decisive testimony, in favour of this general extermination, is that

* See Innes’s *Critical Essay*, Appendix, Num. II. p. 782. Instead of *æqui pariter noluerunt*, he proposes *æquiparari voluerunt*.

† *Ibi*. Num. V.

‡ *De instructione principis*, Julius B. XIII. fo. 97, b. *Polychronicon*, L. 1, p. 210.

of Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote the first seven books of his history about the year 1137, before the Scottish invasion, and the battles of Clithero and Cowton-moor, had given his countrymen reason to know that the Picts still existed in Galloway. Having mentioned, after Bede, that five languages were used in Britain, of the Britons, that is, English, Scots, Picts, and Latins, he adds, “quamvis *Picti* jam videantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut jam fabula videatur, quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio invenitur, cui autem,” he continues, “non comparet amorem coelestium et horrorem terrestrium, si cogitet non solum reges eorum, et principes, et populum deperiisse; verum etiam stirpem omnem, et linguam, et mentionem simul defecisse?” *

* L. 1, p. 299. Mr Pinkerton says, of this respectable ecclesiastic, that “he was the first English writer who adopted the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth [whose history, however, he never saw till after the publication of the first part of his own, in which it is never once mentioned, nor anything taken from it]; and his judgment is equally apparent in being the first writer, whom i can discover to have mentioned the destruction of the Piks by some pretended Scots [that, again, is not true, as the *Cronica Pictorum* preceded him by a couple of centuries]: for the fact is, there was no people in Britain, known by the name of Scots, from about 740, when the kingdom of the old Scots in Britain fell, till about 1020; when the name of *Scots* was improperly given to the Piks.”

That Alpin, the father of Kenneth, and, consequently, Kenneth himself, had some title, or pretension, to the Pictish crown, seems highly probable. There is, in fact, strong reason to suspect that the mother of Alpin was a Pictish princess, and, it may be, the only daughter of Alpin the son of Wroid, king of the Picts, who died in 779, and after whom her son had received his name, as Kenneth seems to have done that of his immediate predecessor. In support of this idea, it is observable that no *Alpin* occurs among the Scottish or Irish kings, previous to the accession of Alpin MacEochy in 837,* but that, in the Pictish list, we have certainly one, if not two, of that name.

(*Enquiry*, II. 153.) The falsehood of this assertion is demonstrable from Alcuin, Ingulph, Ethelwerd, the Saxon chronicle, &c. &c.

* Jocelin, *Vita Patricii*, mentions an "*Alpinus filius Æoli, de stirpe Donaldi Dubhdainagh*," as king of *Athcliath*, or Dublin, whose son *Eochadh*, or *Eocchiad*, and daughter *Dublinia*, were raised from the dead by saint Patrick. (Usher, 448.) But no such name occurs in Ware, O'Flaherty, or even Keating.

ANNALS OF THE PICTS.

ANNALES PICTORUM.

CCLXX. Cum [Brittones] plurimam insulæ [Brittaniæ] partem, incipientes ab austro, possedissent, contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu ventorum, extra fines omnes Brittaniæ Hiberniam pervenisse, ejusque septentrionales oras intrasse, atque inventa ibi gente Scottorum,* sibi quoque in partibus illius sedes petisse, nec impetrare potuisse. . . . Respondebant Scotti, quia non ambos eos caperet insula : Sed possumus,

* The *Scotti* are mentioned by no writer before Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century ; and do not appear to have been settled in Ireland at a much earlier period. (See Innes's *Critical Essay*, 513, &c. 535, &c.) Either, therefore, Bede, who professedly writes from hearsay, has confounded the *Scotti* of his own time with the *Hiberni*, or more ancient inhabitants, or this expedition of the Picts could not have taken place till a much later period. The chronology of this venerable historian is, in fact, peculiarly obscure and confused, as he evidently means to place both Picts and Scots in Britain before the arrival of the Romans.

inquiunt, salubre vobis dare consilium quid agere valeatis. Novimus insulam aliam esse non procul a nostra, contra ortum solis, quam sæpe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere solemus. Hanc adire si vultis, habitabilem vobis facere valetis: vel si qui resisterit, nobis auxiliariis utimini. Itaque, petentes Britanniam, Picti habitare per septentrionales insulæ partes coeperunt, nam austrina Brittones occupaverant. Cumque uxores Picti non habentes, peterent a Scottis, ea solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res perveniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia, quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent: quod usque hodie [anno, scilicet, 731] apud Pictos constat esse servatum.*

* Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, L. 1, c. 1. He seems to have had no clear idea of the age, and still less of the precise year, when this expedition took place: neither does the Saxon chronicle attempt to supply the deficiency. Richard of Cirencester seems to fix this event to the year 170, [*A.M.* that is, 4170,] about which time, he says, king *Reuda* is believed to have arrived, out of THE ISLES, in Britain, with his Picts (B. II. c. 1, § 26): but as he apparently here confounds the *Reuda* of Bede, who was the leader, he says, of the old *Scots*, in a similar, though subsequent expedition, with the *Rodric* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, this otherwise valuable compiler is, in the present instance, of no authority. Nennius is perfectly extravagant and romantic in his information or conjecture: and, the fact is, no other writer has been more successful.

ANNALS OF THE PICTS.

CCLXX. When the Britons, beginning from the south, had possessed the greatest part of the island of Britain, it happened that the nation of the Picts from Scythia, as they report, having entered the ocean, in a few long ships, the wind driving them about, beyond all the confines of Britain, arrived in Ireland, and entered the northern coasts thereof; and, finding there the nation of the Scots, requested a settlement in those parts also for themselves, but could not obtain it. . . . The Scots answered, that the island would not hold them both: But we are able, they said, to give you profitable counsel how you ought to act. We know that there is another island, not far from ours, opposite the rising sun, which we often, on very clear days, are wont to see at a distance. If you will go thither, you may make yourselves a habitation: or, if any one

The date now first adopted seems, for the present, plausible, if not probable; as the Picts are never once mentioned till between twenty and thirty years after, nor is there the least authority, reason, or necessity, for assuming them to have been established in the north of Britain at an earlier period: fancy, indeed, may do wonders, but certainty is impossible.

should resist, use us as auxiliaries. The Picts, therefore, making for Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts of the island, for the Britons had occupied the southern: and whereas the Picts, not having wives, requested them of the Scots, they consented to give them, on this condition only, that, where the matter should come in doubt, they should choose themselves a king rather of the feminine race of kings than of the masculine: which appears to be observed among the Picts unto this day.

CCCVI. Post victoriam Pictorum, Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est, et Constantinus, omnium militum consensu, Cæsar creatus.*

CCCVI. After the conquest of the Picts, Constantius the father died at York, and Constantine, by the consent of all the soldiers, was created Cæsar.

* *Excerpta auctoris ignoti, ad cal. Am. Mar. Gronovii, 1693.* This is the first mention made of the Picts by any Roman historian.

CCCLVIII. Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, post Brittones et Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qui duce *Reuda* de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro, sibi inter eos sedes quas hactenus habent vindicaverunt: a quo videlicet duce usque hodie *Dalreudini* vocantur, nam, lingua eorum, *daul* partem significat.*

CCCLVIII. In process of time, Britain, after the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation of the Scots, in the part of the Picts; who, under their commander Reuda, having passed over into Ireland, either by friendship or by the sword, obtained for themselves those seats which they hither-

* Bede, L. 1, c. 1. The word *dal* had the same meaning in his own language; another of its Irish senses is a *tribe* or *clan*, which is more suitable to the occasion. (See O'Flahertys *Ogygia*, 322.) The æra of this expedition, of which, it is probable, Bede had no certain information, and no accurate idea, has been fixed by modern Irish writers, and is, consequently, of too dubious and suspected credit, that one should hesitate to reduce it even a century lower. (See Pinkertons *Enquiry*, II. 61, §c., and the authorities (such as they are) there quoted.) This little colony is supposed to have been shortly afterward driven back to Ireland by the Picts (which Bede, however, was not aware of): but it would be no very violent scepticism to doubt the fact of either of these expeditions, which certainly smack somewhat too much of Irish tradition.

to possess ; from which commander they are to this day called *Dalreudins*, for, in their language, *dal* signifies a part.

CCCLX. Consulatu Constantii decies, terque Juliani, in Britanniiis cum Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus, rupta quiete conducta, loca limitibus vicina vastarent, et implicaret formido provincias, præteritarum cladum congerie fessas, hiemem agens apud Parisios Cæsar . . . verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ne rectore vacuas relinqueret Gallias. Ire igitur ad hæc ratione vel vi componenda Lupicinium placuit. . . . Moto, ergo, velitari auxilio, Ærulis scilicet et Batavis, numerisque Mæsiacorum duobus, adulta hieme dux ante dictus Bononiam venit : quæsitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium : ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ocius ad procinctum.*

CCCLX. In the tenth consulate of Constantius, and the third of Julian, when, in Britain, the *in-

* Annianus Marcellinus, L. 20, c. 1.

cursions of the Scots and Picts, savage nations, the peace agreed on being broken, wasted the grounds near the boundaries, and terror involved the provinces, wearied with the accumulation of former slaughters; Cæsar, passing the winter at Paris, feared to go to the assistance of those beyond sea, lest he should leave Gaul without a ruler. Therefore, to compose these troubles by reason or force, it pleased him to send Lupicinius. . . . Putting in motion, therefore, the light-armed auxiliaries, to wit, the Heruli and Batavians, and two companies of the Mæsiaci, the aforesaid commander came to Bononia * [in mid-winter]: and having got ships, and put every soldier on board, taking advantage of a favourable gale, he is conveyed to Rutupiæ, † situate over against it, and marches to London: that therefrom, having taken counsel according to the nature of the business, he might the sooner hasten to battle.

CCCLXIV. Picti, Saxonesque, et Scotti, et Atacotti, Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis. ‡

* Now Boulogne.

† Now Richborough.

‡ Amm. Mar. L. 26, c. 4. It would seem, from this passage, that the Saxon pirates had occasionally infested the nor-

CCCLXIV. The Picts, and the Saxons, the Scots also, and the Attacots, harassed the Britons with continual afflictions.

thern coasts of Britain, near a century before their arrival in 449. The Romans, at this period, as appears from the *Notitia imperii*, had an officer with the title of “ Comes litoris *Saxovici* per *Britanniam* ;” and Claudian, in his praises of Stilicho, introduces Britannia saying—

“ Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne *Pictum* tremere, ne *littore* toto
 Prospererem dubiis venturum *Saxona* ventis.”

(By him protected, Scottish wars I'd fear not,
 Nor tremble at the Pict ; nor, from the shore,
 Behold, with dubious winds, the Saxons come.)

The historian mentions them elsewhere as infesting Gaul. Richard of Cirencester places the Atacotti in the west part of the province *Vespasiana*, upon the north of Clyde, and calls them “ gens toti aliquando olim *Brittaniæ* formidanda.” They are likewise mentioned by St Jerome, in company with the Scots : “ *Scottorum et Atticorum* [*alias Atticorum*] *ritu*, ac de *republicâ* *Platonis*, *promiscuas uxores*, *communes liberos habeant.*” (*Epistola*, 83 ; Usher, 307.) He professes to have seen, in Gaul, one or other of these nations eating human flesh. The name, *Attacotti*, according to Mr Pinkerton, “ means simply *Hither Scots*, or *Scots remaining in Britain*” (*Enquiry*, II. 70) : a very ridiculous conjecture, no doubt ; for though *Atta Scotti* might have had such a meaning, *Attacotti* cannot : and, in fact, their origin, as well as the etymology of their name, is totally unknown.

CCCLXVIII. Profectus [Valentinianus] ab Am-
bianis, Treverosque festinans nuntio percellitur gra-
vi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione
ad ultimam vexatas inopiam : Nectaridumque comi-
tem maritimi tractus occisum, et Fullofaudem ducem
hostium insidiis circumventum. Quibus magno cum
horrore compertis, Severum etiam tum domesticorum
misit, si fors casum dedisset optatum, correc-
turum sequiùs gesta : quo paulo revocato, Jovinus
eadem loca profectus, Provertuidem celeri gradu
præmisit, adminicula petiturus exercitus validi . . .
Postremo ob multa et metuenda, quæ super eadem
insula rumores assidui perferebant, electus Theo-
dosius illuc properare disponitur . . . adscitaque ani-
mosa legionum et cohortium nube, ire tendebat
præeunte fiducia speciosa. Eo tempore Picti, in
duas gentes divisi, Dicaledonas et Vecturiones,* iti-
dèmq; Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti,
per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur : . . . Ad
hæc prohibenda si copiam dedisset fortuna prospe-
rior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens, cum

* Usher and Innes suppose these *Dicaledones* (as some edi-
tions read) and *Vecturiones* to be the southern and northern
Picts. (See *Antiquitates*, p. 306, *Critical Essay*, p. 82.) It
is doubtful, however, whether the Picts were thus divided at
so early a period ; and, most likely, there is some inextricable
corruption in the text, as no such names are elsewhere to be
found.

venisset ad Bononiæ litus, quod à spatio controverso terrarum angustiis reciproci distinguitur maris, . . . exinde transmeato lentius freto defertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam. Unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Eruli, Joviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri ; egressus tendensque ad Lundinium, . . . divisus plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum : et propere fuisque vinctos homines agebant et pecora, prædam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi. His denique restituta omni, præter partam exiguam impensam militibus fessis, mersam difficultatibus suis antehac civitatem, sed subito quam salus sperari potuit recreatam, in ovantis speciem lætissimus introit. Ubi ad audenda majora prospero successu elatus, tutaque scrutando consilia, futuri morabatur ambiguus, diffusam variarum gentium plebem et ferocientem immaniter, non nisi per dolos occultiores et improvisos excursus superari posse, captivorum confessionibus et transfugarem iudiciis doctus.*

* Am. Mar. L. 27, c. 8. In the following book he says that Theodosius repaired the cities and præsidary camps, and defended the boundaries with watches and out-guards, and that, having recovered the province, which had been in the power of the enemy, he so restored it to its pristine state, that, according to his own account, it both had a lawful governor, and was

CCCLXVIII. Valentinian, having departed from the Ambians, and hastening to the Treveri, (or Triers,) was afflicted with heavy tidings, which indicated that Britain, by a conspiracy of the barbarians, was reduced to the last distress: and that

thenceforward called VALENTIA, by the will of the prince, as it were, by way of triumph. This was in 369, when he left the island. The poet Claudian alludes to the exploits of this great commander, saying of him,

“ Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.”

(He the light Moors, and, true-named, Picts subdued,
And, with a roving point, following the Scot,
Broke, with bold oars, the Hyperborean waves.)

De III. con. Honorii (A.C. 396).

Again:

—————“ maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcaes, incaluit *Pictorum* sanguine *Thule*,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis *Ierne*.”

(The Orkney isles were wet with Saxons slain,
Thule, far off, grew hot with blood of Pict,
And frozen Ireland wept her heaps of Scots.)

From this passage, Richard of Cirencester infers that the Roman province of VESPASIANA, beyond Antoninus's wall, had, under the last emperors, obtained the name of *Thule*:—a name, at any rate, of which the poet makes frequent use:

“ Hyperboreo damnatum sidere *Thylen*.”

(Thule condemn'd to Hyperborean star.)

In Rufinum.

Nectaridus, count of the sea coast, was killed, and Fullofaudes, the general, encompassed by the snares of the enemy : which being understood with great horror, he sent Severus, at that time count of the domestics, if fortune had given the wished-for chance, to correct these things done amiss : who being in a little time recalled, Jovinus being gone into the same parts, sent before Provertuides with a quick pace, to crave the aid of a powerful army. . . . At last, on account of the many and fearful things, which continual rumours brought concerning the same island, Theodosius, being elected, is appointed to hasten thither . . . and having taken a hardy multitude of legions and cohorts, he set forward, a showy courage leading the way. At that time the Picts, divided into two nations, the Dicaledonæ and Vec-

“ Terruit oceanum, et nostro axe remotam
Insolito bello tremefecit murmure *Thulen.*”

(Affrights the ocean, and from us remote,
Makes Thule tremble with unwonted war.)

De bello Getico.

“ Horrescit . . . ratibus . . . *impervia Thule.*”

(Thule, impassable to ships, grows rough.)

In III. con. Hono.

The frequent mention of the Scots and Picts by this poet, proves how formidable those nations were in his time to the Romans. See another extract, to this purpose, in a preceding note.

turiones, and likewise the Attacots, a warlike nation of men, and the Scots, wandering through various parts, ravaged many. . . . To put a stop to these outrages, if more prosperous fortune gave assistance, this most active general, seeking the extremities of the globe, when he had come to the coast of Bononia, which is severed from the land over against it by the straights of an ebbing and flowing sea . . . thence, having leisurely crossed the channel, he is brought to Rutupiæ, a tranquil station on the opposite shore. Whence, when the Batavians, and the Heruli, and Jovii and Victores, numbers confident in strength, and who followed close after him, had arrived, he went forth, and marching to London, . . . divided into several troops, he attacked the wandering wasting bands of the enemy, heavy with the load of their baggage ; and those who drove men bound and cattle being speedily routed, he took the booty which the miserable tributaries lost. To these finally everything being restored, except a small part bestowed on the wearied soldiers, he, most joyful, after the manner of one triumphing, entered the city, heretofore overwhelmed with its difficulties, but which, suddenly refreshed, might hope for safety : where, encouraged by prosperous success to attempt greater things, and seeking safe counsels, he remained dubious of

the future, being instructed by the confessions of the prisoners, and the communications of deserters, that this diffused rabble, of various nations, and raging cruelly, could only be vanquished by secret stratagems, and sudden incursions.

CCCLXXXIV. Incursantes Pictos et Scotos Maximus [tyrannus in Britannia à militibus imperator constitutus] strenue superavit.*

CCCLXXXIV. Maximus, the tyrant, being constituted emperor in Britain by the soldiers, bravely vanquished the Picts and Scots, making incursions.

* *Prosperi chronicon* (Labbé, *Nova bib. MSS. libro. tom I. p. 56*); and Sigebert. "Maximus," according to father Innes, "before he left the island, repulsed with great vigour, and overcame the Scots and Picts, according to Gregory of Tours;" and refers, in a note, to "*Greg. Turon's hist.*" but without citing book, chapter, or page. In fact, however, Gregory of Tours nowhere mentions the *Picts of Britain*; though, certainly, he has a great deal concerning the *Pictavi of Gaul*.

CCCXCVIII.

Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro,
 Ferro picta genas cujus vestigia verrit,
 Cœrulus, oceanique æstum mentitur amictus,
 Me quoque vicinis percuntem gentibus, inquit,
 Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iærnen
 Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
 Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
 Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem.*

CCCXCVIII.

Thence Britain, guarded from the Scottish bug,
 With iron-punctured face, an azure vest
 Brushes her feet, and represents the sea :
 “ Me, also, wasted by a bordering tribe,
 Me aided Stilicho, when all Iærne
 The Scot in motion put, and Tethys foam’d
 With the vexatious oar : and, by his cares,
 I fear not Scottish darts, nor dread the Picts.”

CCCCVI. Drust filius Erp, centum annis regnavit [*aliter*, rexit, *rectè* vixit], et centum bella peregit. Nono decimo [*l. vigesimo nono*] anno

* Claudiani, l. 2, in *primum consulatum Stilichonis*, v. 247, &c.

regni ejus, Patricius episcopus sanctus ad Hyberniam pervenit insulam.*

CCCCVI. Drust, the son of Erp, lived a hundred years, and fought a hundred battles. In the 19th [*r.* 29th] year of his reign, Patrick the holy bishop came into the island Hibernia.

CCCCIX. Britannia, omni armato milite, mi-

* *Cronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum* (Innes's *Critical essay*, Ap. Num. II. Pinkertons *Enquiry*, Vol. I. Ap. Num. x.) St Patrick is said to have arrived in Ireland A. C. 432, so that xix should, in all probability, be xxix, which will leave a difference only of two or three years, supposing Drust to have actually commenced his reign in 406. Mr Pinkerton makes it commence in 414, and, instead of 45 years, gives him 38. This Drust, who seems famous, by his long life, and numerous victories, was, probably, the first sovereign who established the Pictish settlement in the main of Scotland, by driving out the old Dalriadic Scots to the west, and the Caledonians, or aboriginal Britons, to the south; being themselves, before that time, confined to the Orkneys, or remote provinces of the north. Part of these Britons making a successful stand in the south-west corner of Scotland, may have there founded the kingdom of Strath-Clyde. But this hypothesis, it must be confessed, is strongly militated against by the mission of Ninian; of which, however, we have no decisive æra.

litaribusque copiis, rectoribus linquitur immanibus, ingenti juventute spoliata (quæ comitata vestigiis [Maximi] tyranni domum nusquam ultra rediit), et omnis belli usus ignara penitus ; duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis, Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone calcabilis multos stupet gemetque per annos.*

* Gildas, c. 11. He introduces this first devastation, as he calls it, after the death of Maximus, who, having been declared emperor by the Roman army in Britain, had passed over into Gaul, and was taken, and put to death at Aquilea, in 388. Bede, who nearly transcribes this passage of Gildas, adds, that “ these nations are called transmarine, not because they were seated out of Britain, but because they were remote from the part of the Britons ; two arms of the sea being interjacent, one of which from the eastern sea, the other from the western, broke in, far and wide, upon the lands of Britain, although they did not reach each other. The eastern, he continues, has in the midst of it the city Giudi. The western, above it, that is, on its right, the city Alcluith, which, in their language, signifies the rock Cluith ; for it is hard by a river of that name.” (L. 1, c. 12.) Giudi is thought to have been (a wooden city) situate in the island of Inchkeith in the firth of Forth (Usher, p. 356) : Alcluith is *Dunbritton* ; and these arms of the sea are, of course, the firths of Forth and Clyde.† The explanation

† Alcluith is, literally, *Ad Cluydam*, at, or upon, the Clyde : *Petra-Cloithe*, indeed, another British name of this city (Adomnan, c. 15), implies a *rock* on that *river* : and Mr Pinkerton even asserts, that “ *Al* in Welsh means a *rock*.” (*Enquiry*, I. 90.)

CCCCIX. Britain, along with every armed soldier, and the military forces, is forsaken by her cruel rulers, despoiled of her lusty youth (which, having accompanied the footsteps of the tyrant Maximus,

given by Bede of the epithet *transmarine* may, no doubt, be well founded; but Claudian, in fact, describes the Scots as coming from Ireland to Britain; and introduces Britannia speaking thus:—

“ Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit *Stilicho*; totam quum *Scotus Iërnen*
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige *Tethys*.”

De lau. Stilicho. L. 2.

(Me, too, in danger from two neighbouring powers,
Defended *Stilicho*; when all *Iërne*
The Scot in motion put; and *Tethys* foam'd
With the oppressive oar.)

At any rate, it would not be a singular instance of Bede's misunderstanding the words of *Gildas*. The author, likewise, of a gloss, annexed to a copy of *Gildas* at Cambridge, refers this passage, not to the Scots, whom *Reuda* had brought into Britain, but to others, who, in the hope of robbery and plunder, came yearly out of Ireland: “ *Quia Scotti tunc temporis in Hibernia habitabant, et Picti in Scotia, id est ab aquilone.*” (*Ushers Antiquitates*, p. 310.) “ *Habitante plebe Britannica,*” says *Ethelwerd*, “ *incuriosè causa firmitatis intra fossam quæ à Severo cæsare condita erat, insurrexerunt gentes duæ, Picti, scilicet, ab aquilonali plaga, et Scoti ab occidentali, contra eos cum exercitu, vastantes eorum possessiones: et sic, per multa annorum spatia, innumerabili eos miserîâ afflixerunt.*”

never more returned home), and utterly ignorant of every practice of war, trampled on, for the first time, by two exceedingly fierce transmarine nations, of the Scots from the west, of the Picts from the north, is stupified, and groans for years.

CCCCXIV. Gens igitur Britonum, Scotorum Pictorumque impetum non ferens, ob quorum infestationem ac dirissimam depressionem, legatos Romam cum epistolis mittit, militarem manum ad se vindicandum lachrymosis postulationibus poscens, et subjectionem sui Romano imperio continue tota animi virtute (si hostis longius arceretur) vovens.* Cui mox destinatur legio præteriti mali immemor,† sufficienter armis instructa. Quæ ratibus trans oceanum in patriam advecta, et coninus cum gravibus hostibus congressa, magnam que ex eis multitudinem sternens; et omnes è finibus depulit, et

* This was the first legation.

† “Occisionis videlicet imperatoris Gratiani [A. C. 387]; ut glossata hic exponit.” (Usher, p. 313.) This legion was sent by Honorius, after the decease of Constantine, and the capture of Maximus. (Pauli diaconi *De gestis Romanorum*, L. 14.)

subjectos cives tam atroci dilaceratione ex imminente captivitate liberavit. Quos jussit constituere inter duo maria trans insulam murum ; ut esset ar-cenda hostibus turba instructus terrore ; civibusque tutamini. Qui, vulgo irrationabili absque rectore factus, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus, non profuit.*

* Gildas, c. 12. The title of this chapter, in the old *Capitula*, is, “ Qualiter Britones arctati à Scotis et Pictis, pro Romano miserunt auxilio, et obtinuerunt. Et quale consilium Romani eis dederint. Videlicet, ut inter duo maria murum per millia passuum plurima trans insulam instruerent, à mari Scotiæ usque ad mare Hiberniæ, (*i. e.*) à Kair Eden civitate antiquissima, duorum ferme millium spatio à monasterio Aber-curnig (quod nunc vocatur Abercorn) ad occidentem, tendens contra occidentem, juxta urbem Alcluth. At insulani murum non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes, ad nihilum utilem statuunt ; quia statim Romanis repatriantibus, iterum ab ipsis impugnati sunt.” Bede adds, They [the Britons] made this wall between the two firths, or arms of the sea, of which he has already spoken, for a great many miles : that, where the defence of the waters was wanting, there, by the help of the wall, they might defend their borders from the ir-ruption of the enemy : of which work there made, that is, of a most broad and high wall, most certain vestiges are discern-ible until this day. It begins, he says, at almost two miles space from the monastery of Æbercurnig (Abercorn) toward the west, in a place which, in the language of the Picts, is called Peanfahel, but in that of the English Penneltur ; and,

CCCCXIV. The nation of the Britons, therefore, not bearing the violence of the Scots and Picts,

running toward the west, terminates hard by the city of Alcluith (Dunbritton). (L. 1, c. 13.) The title of Nennius's 19th chapter is, "Qualiter Severus imperator tertius murum trans insulam ob incursionem *Pictorum Scotorum* que facere præcepit, et illos à *Britonibus* divisit, et ubi postea peremptus." And the title of C. 24 gives an accurate idea of the course of Severus's wall: but most probably, he again confounds the *turf wall* of Severus in 210 with the *stone wall* erected by the joint efforts of the Romans in 416; as, it is certain, there were no Picts or Scots in Britain during the time of Severus. This narrow tract, or isthmus, seems to have been originally selected by Julius Agricola (A. C. 80), for his chain of forts described by Tacitus. A turf wall had been likewise erected in the same line by Antoninus Pius, or his lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus, in or about the year 138; of which Bede knew nothing, supposing the reparation, or, possibly, new wall, to be the original work. The progress of this wall, which extended, in fact, from *Cariun*, of old *Caeribden*, or *Caer-Edin*, already mentioned, two miles to the west of *Abrcorn*, where Bede makes it to begin, to *Old-Kirkpatrick*, in the shire of Dunbarton, upon the river Clyde; a distance of 36 miles, or 887 paces, English, and 39 miles, or 969 paces, Roman measure, is ascertained by the inscriptions on several stones which have been discovered on the spot, and are now in the university of Glasgow, all of them being dedicated to Antoninus, or to Lollius. (See Gordon's *Itinerarium septentrionale*, p. 52, 64.) The following account of both walls is given by Richard of Cirencester: "Hic Brittania," says he, "rursus quasi amplexu oceani delectata, angustior evadit, quam alibi, idque ob duo ipsa

on account of their vexation and most cruel depression, sends ambassadors to Rome with letters, sup-

rapidissima, quæ infunduntur, æstuaria *Bodotriam* scilicet et *Clottam* [*i. e.* the firths Forth and Clyde]. Contractus hic isthmus ab Agricola legato primùm præsidio munitus erat. Alium murum, in historiis nobilissimum, erexit imperator Antoninus, ad XXXV. circiter milliaria protensum ; ut hoc medio barbarorum sisteret incursiones, qui et ab Ætio duce demum reparatus est, undecimque firmatus turribus." (L. 1, c. 6, § 42.) The wall of Ætius, in aftertimes, obtained, among the Scots, the name of *Grahams* or *Grimes dyke*, for what reason is unknown. It was never called *the Picts wall* (a name peculiar to that erected with stones in or about the year 420) : which may seem to prove that it was not originally intended to oppose this people, who had not, in all probability, penetrated at that period so far south ; and, most probably, indeed, were not then in Britain. Even Dio Cassius, who, under A. C. 182, mentions either this or Hadrians wall, and knew nothing of either Scots or Picts, says, " For, when the nations of this island were passed that wall, which extends between themselves and the Roman camp, and had wasted many parts, the Roman commander, and the soldiers he had with him, being slain, Commodus, assailed by fear, sent against them Alpius Marcellus." (B. 72, c. 8.) Though re-built, or repaired, by the Britons, in 416, to repress the incursions of the Scots and the Picts, few or no vestiges of it are supposed to be at present discernible, the canal to unite the Forth and Clyde having been cut in the same direction. This Ætius is, apparently, the consul *tertio*, to whom the Britons shortly after send their lamentable groans. [See *Annals of the Caldonians*, pp. 51, 53, *n.* and *post* p. 160. *n.*—ED.]

plicating, with doleful expostulations, a military force to defend them, and vowing its perpetual subjection to the Roman empire, with the whole power of the mind (if the enemy were driven further off): to which, unmindful of the passed evil, a legion, sufficiently versed in arms, is straightway appointed: which, being carried across the ocean in ships, and presently engaging with grievous enemies, and prostrating a great multitude of them, not only drove them all out of the confines, but, with so atrocious a slaughter, delivered from imminent captivity the endangered citizens: whom it ordered to build a wall across the island between the two seas, that, being garrisoned by a multitude inclosed together, it might be a terror to the enemy and a defence to the citizens: which, being made by the irrational vulgar, without a guide, not so much with stones as with sods, did no good.



CCCCXVI. Illa legione, cum triumpho magno et gaudio, domum repetente, illi priores inimici, ac quasi ambrones lupi profunda fame rabidi, siccis faucibus in ovile transientes, non comparente pastore, alis remorum, remigumque brachiis, ac velis

vento sinuatis vecti, terminos rumpunt, cæduntque omnia, et quæque obvia maturam seu segetem metunt, calcant, transeunt. Itemque mittuntur queruli legati, scissis (ut dicitur) vestibus, operisque sablone capitibus, impetrantes à Romanis auxilia, ac veluti timidi pulli patrum fidelissimis alis succumbentes, ne penitus misera patria deleteretur, nomenque Romanum, quod verbis tantum apud eos auribus resultabat vel exterarum gentium opprobrio obrosum vilesceret.* At illi, quantum humanæ naturæ possibile est, commoti tantæ historia tragediæ, volatus ceu aquilarum, equitum in terra, natitarum in mari, cursus accelerantes, inopinatos primum, tandem terribiles inimicorum unguis cervicibus infigunt mucronum, casibusque foliorum tempore certo ad simulandum istam peragunt stragem, ac fit, si montanus torrens crebris tempestatum rivulis auctis auctus, sonorosoque meatu alveos exundans, ac sulcato dorso fronteque acra, erectis, ut aiunt, ad nebulas undis mirabiliter spumans; ast uno objectas sibi '*evicit' gurgite moles:*† ita æmulorum agmina auxiliares egregii (si qua ta-

* This was the second legation.

† Virgil, *Æneis*, L. 2, v. 497.

men evadere potuerant) propere trans maria fugaverunt, quia anniversarias avide prædas nullo obsistente trans maria exaggerabant. Igitur Romani patria reversi, denuntiantes nequaquam se tam laboriosis expeditionibus posse frequentius vexari, et ob imbelles erraticosque latrunculos, Romana stigmata, tantum talemque exercitum, terra ac mari fatigari: sed ut insula potius, consuescendo armis, ac viriliter dimicando, terram, substantiolam, conjuges, liberos et (quod hic majus est) libertatem vitamque totis viribus vindicaret, et gentibus nequaquam se fortioribus (nisi segnitia et torpore dissolverentur) ut inermes vinculis vincendas nullo modo, sed instructas peltis, ensibus, hastis et ad cædem promptas protenderet manus, suadentes (quia et hoc putabant aliquid derelinquendo populo commodi accrescere) murum, non ut alterum, sumptu publico privatoque, adjunctis secum miserabilibus indigenis, solito structuræ more, tramite à mari usque ad mare inter urbes quæ ibidem forte ob metum hostium collocatæ fuerant, directo librant, fortia formidoloso populo monita tradunt, exemplaria instituendorum armorum relinquunt, in littore quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, qua naves eorum habebantur, et inde barbariæ feræ bestiæ

timebantur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant, valedicunt tanquam ultra non reversuri.*

CCCCXVI. This legion returning home, with

* Gildas, c. 13, 14. The title of the latter chapter, in the old capitulary, is, “ Quomodo Britones rursum Romanorum solatium repetierint, et qualiter Romani sese excusaverint; sed tamen laudare et monere cœperunt: ut murum à mari ad mare facerent: quod et facerent, à mari Norwagiæ usque ad mare Gallwadiæ, per octo pedes latum et duodecim altum. Et turres per intervalla construxerunt, eo in loco ubi Severus imperator maximum fossam, firmisissimumque vallum crebris insuper turribus communiter per cxxxii. passuum longe antefecerat, (*i. e.*) à villa quæ Anglice *Wallestunde* dicitur, Latine vero *caput muri* interpretantur [*l. interpretatur*]: quæ est juxta *Tinemuthe*, qui murus multum distat à præfato vallo apud meridiem, quod ante apud *Kair Eden* supra mare Scotiæ constituerant.” The title of Nennius’s 24th chapter, as before observed, is, “ De secundo etiam Severo, qui solita structura murum alterum, ad arcendos *Pietos* et *Scotos* fieri à *Tinemuthe* usque *Rouvenes* præcepit.” He had already confounded the wall of the real Severus with that of Antoninus, and now confounds another Severus with some body else. This new wall (*murus*), according to Bede, was built of firm stone, where Severus had formerly made a wall of turf (*vallum*); and was eight feet broad and twelve high, in a right line from east to west, as in his time was clear to beholders. (L. 1, c. 12.) Its remains are still visible, and might have so continued, had

great triumph and joy, those former enemies, like ravening wolves, raging with extreme hunger, with

not the ignorant, barbarous, and Gothic justices of Northumberland lately ordered them to be demolished for the purpose of repairing the roads. It extended, originally, from a place called *Segedunum*, now *Cousins*, or *Coscens's house*, upon the Tyne, a few miles below Newcastle, to *Bulness*, upon the Solway, or *Edenmouth*; and is described, by Richard of Cirencester, “*murum non terra, ut ante pulvereum, sed saxo solidum.*” It was the work, he says, of *Stilicho*, as appears from the lines of *Claudian*, already cited. But the death of *Stilicho*, which happened in 408, renders this impossible; though he might very likely have, some years before, repaired that of *Severus*. A late writer pretends, that this “last and most important wall ever built in Britain, according to *Beda's* account, was that raised by the Romans, who again, under the command of *GALLIO*, came to assist the Britons against their old enemies, the Picts and Scots, about the year 426” (*Enquiry into the history of Scotland*, I. 47): and says again, “For these reasons, I lend full assent to *Beda*, that this stone wall was built by *Gallio*” (*Ibi.* 54): and repeatedly calls it “*Gallio's* wall.” Neither *Bede*, however, nor any other writer, more ancient, that is, than *Sabellicus*, or *Hector Bois* (whom this Gothic “antiquist” is servile enough to follow, though ashamed to quote), ever mentions such a general as *Gallio* in Britain, or, of course, that he had any concern with the restored wall.

It is rather an unfortunate circumstance to the readers of ancient history, that *Gildas* should only have one single date, which he has taken care, at the same time, to express so ob-

thirsty jaws leaping into the sheepfold, the shepherd being absent, carried with the wings of oars, and arms of rowers, and sails bent by the wind, break the limits, and destroy all things, and whatever lies in their way, ripe fruit or standing corn, they cut down, trample upon, and overrun. Again are querulous ambassadors sent, with rent garments, (as it is said,) and heads covered with sand, intreating aid from the Romans, and, like fearful chickens, crouching under the most faithful wings of their parents, that their miserable country might not be utterly destroyed, and the Roman name, which,

scurely, that nobody can understand it : and that all the ancient dates given by Bede should be totally fanciful and inconsistent.

“ It soon appeared that the strongest walls and ramparts are no security to an undisciplined and dastardly rabble, as the unhappy Britons then were. The Scots and Picts met with little resistance in breaking through the wall, whose towns and castles were tamely abandoned to their destructive rage. In many places they levelled it with the ground, that it might prove no obstruction to their future inroads. From this time no attempts were ever made to repair this noble work. Its beauty and grandeur procured it no respect in the dark and tasteless ages which succeeded. It became the common quarry for more than a thousand years, out of which all the towns and villages around were built ; and is now so entirely ruined, that the penetrating eyes of the most poring and patient antiquarian can hardly trace its vanishing foundations. *Jam seges est ubi Troia fuit.*”
(Dr Henrys *History of G. Britain*, I. 575.)

among them, resounded to the ears in words only, even gnawn by the reproach of foreign nations, become vile. But they, as much as is possible to human nature, being moved with the history of such a tragedy, hastening, as it were the flight of eagles, the expedition of horsemen by land, of mariners by sea, fix the, at first unexpected, at length terrible, talons of their swords in the shoulders of the enemy, and accomplish this slaughter in resemblance of the fall of leaves in a certain season ; and as it is, if the mountain-torrent increased by the frequent rivulets of rain, and overflowing the channels in its sonorous course, and with a furrowed back, and sour face, the waters, as they say, being raised to the clouds, wonderously foaming ; but by one [obstacle] *bursts resistless o'er the level'd mounds* ; so these famous auxiliaries speedily drove the herds of rivals (if by any means they were able to escape) beyond the seas, because, beyond the seas, no one withstanding, they greedily heaped up their anniversary plunder. The Romans, therefore, returned to their country, declaring that they could in no wise be so very frequently troubled with such laborious expeditions, and the Roman ensigns, and such and so great an army, wearied by land and sea, on account of cowardly and wandering robbers : but advising, that

the island rather, by accustoming itself to arms, and manfully fighting, its land, property, wives, children, and (what is greater than these) liberty and life, should defend with all its powers, and should by no means, as persons unarmed, stretch out the hands, to be bound in chains by nations in no wise braver than itself (unless they were dissolved by sloth and dulness);* but, furnished with bucklers, swords, spears, and ready for slaughter (because this also they thought would be of some benefit to the people being left to themselves), they build a wall, not as the other, at public and private expense, the miserable natives being associated with them, in the usual mode of building, in a direct line from sea to sea, betwixt the cities, which, perad-

* Flaccus Alcuinus, about 730, has these lines :

———“ Gens pigra *Britonum*,
 Quæ fere continuis *Pictorum* pressa duellis,
 Servitii pondus, tandem vastata subivit ;
 Nec valuit propriis patriam defendere scutis,
 Vel libertatem gladiis revocare paternam.”

Scrip. xv. p. 703.

(———The lazy Britons,
 Oppress'd with frequent battles of the Picts,
 The weight of slavery have undergone,
 Nor can defend their country with their shields,
 Or liberty recall with biting swords.)

venture, were there placed for fear of enemies ; deliver manly counsels to the fearful people ; leave them models for making arms ; upon the shore also of the ocean, on the southern coast, where their ships lay, and thence the barbarous savage beasts were feared, they erect towers at intervals to overlook the sea ; and take their leave, as not again to return.

CCCCXX. Itaque illis ad sua revertentes, emergunt certatim de curicis* quibus sunt trans Tethicam vallem † vecti (quasi in alto titane incalescen-

* Small vessels, described by Cæsar (*De bello civili*, L. 1, c. 51) ; Lucan, Pliny, and Solinus, being made of willows, and covered with hides ; and still in use among the native inhabitants of Wales and Ireland.

† Some MSS. read corruptly, *Styiticam*, but none, it is believed, *Scythicam*. Gale and Bertram propose *Theticam* : but *Tethicam vallem*, [is] a hyperbolic appellation of the Irish channel : from *Tethys*, supposed, in the pagan mythology to be the wife of *Oceanus*, and hence a poetical figure, or personification of the *sea*. Thus Virgil :

—“ Tibi serviat ultima Thule,
Teque sibi generum *Tethys* emat omnibus undis.”

Gcor. L. 1, v. 30.

“ While furthest Thule thy dread will obeys,
And Tethys, for her son, buys thee with all her seas.”

teque caumate de aretissimis foraminum cavernulis fusci vermiculorum cenei) tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes et una eadem sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordēs, furciferosque magis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda, pudendisque proxima vestibis regentes: cognitaque condebitorum reversione, et reditus denegatione, solito confidentius omnem aquilonalem, extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt. Statuitur ad hæc in edito arcis acies, segnis ad pugnam, inhabilis ad fugam, tremantibus præcordiis inepta, quæ diebus ac noctibus

The same use is frequently made of it by Lucan, and repeatedly by Claudian:

——“ totam quum *Scotus Iærnen*
 Movit, et infesto spumavit remige *Tethys*.”
 “ —— when all Ierne
 The Scot in motion put, and Tethys foam'd
 With the oppressive oar ——”

Again:

——“ Domito quod *Saxonc, Tethys*
 Mitior, aut fracto secura *Britannia Picto*.”

In Eutro, L. 2.

“ That Saxons conquer'd, Tethys grows more mild,
 Or Britain safer from the fractured Pict.”

Gildas is known to have read Virgil; and Claudian being the nearest poet to his own time, and in other respects particularly interesting to the Britons, was in all probability his greatest favourite.

stupido sedili marcebat. Interea non cessant uncinata nudorum tela, quibus miserrimi cives de minis, tracti solo allidebantur. Hoc scilicet eis proficiebat immaturæ mortis supplicium, qui tali funere rapiiebantur, quo fratrum pignorumque suorum miserandas imminentes pœnas cito exitu devitabant. Quod plura loquar? Relictis civitatibus, muroque celso, iterum quibus fugæ: iterum dispersiones solito desperabiliores. Item ab hoste insectationes: item strage accelerantur crudeliores: et sicut agni à lanionibus, ita defendi cives ab inimicis discerpuntur, ut commoratio eorum ferarum assimilaretur agrestium.*

CCCCXX. These, therefore, returning home, the mischievous herds of Scots and Picts, differing, partly, in morals, but agreeing in one and the same avidity of shedding blood, and covering rather their villainous countenances with hair, than the shameful parts of their bodies, and those next to the shameful parts, with clothes, emerge eagerly from their ships, in which they are carried across the Tethick valley (like brown troops of little emmets [issuing] from the narrowest holes of their nests,

* Gildas, C. 15. See, likewise, Bede (L. 1, c. 12); and Ethelwerd (P. 832).

in the high sun and fierce heat) ; and, knowing the departure of the allies, and their refusal to return, more confidently than usual they take the northern and extreme part of the land from the natives as far as the wall. To oppose these irruptions was placed upon the top of the fortress a garrison, slow to fight, unable to fly, simple with quaking hearts, which, day and night, in their stupid seat pined away. In the meantime cease not the hooked darts of the naked savages, with which the most miserable citizens, drawn from the walls, were dashed to the ground. This punishment, however, of immature death, was profitable to those who were snatched away by such a death, whereby they avoided, by a speedy exit, the lamentable sufferings at hand for their brothers and children. What can I say more? Leaving the cities, and the high wall, again their dispersions are more desperate than usual. Again, pursuits from the enemy ; again, they, having become more cruel, are hastened by slaughter ; and, as lambs by butchers, so the lamentable citizens are cut in pieces by their enemies, that their habitation resembled that of wild beasts.

CCCCXXIII. Britannis subjectione Rhomano

imperio repromittentibus, subsidium mittit Honorius; sed id frustra fuit.*

CCCCXXIII. Honorius sends a subsidy to the Britons, in subjection to the Roman empire, re-engaging themselves by covenant; but it was in vain.

CCCCXXXI. Missus est Palladius episcopus primitus à Celestino papa Romano ad Scotos in Christum convertendos. . . Et profectus est ille Palladius de Hibernia, pervenitque ad Britanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum.†

CCCCXXXI. Palladius the bishop was, first of all, sent, by Celestine the Roman pope, to convert the Scots to Christ . . . And this Palladius went from Ireland, and came to Britain, and there died in the land of the Picts.

* Sigebert.

† Nennius, C. 53. "In provincia Pictorum, quæ modò est Scotia in Britannia, vitam finivit suam." *Acta S. Patricii*, Usserio citata (p. 424).

CCCCXLVI. Igitur rursus miseræ reliquiæ mittentes epistolas ad Agitium Romanæ potestatis virum (hoc modo loquentes) inquirunt : Agitio [*l. Ætio*] ter consuli gemitus Britannorum : Et post pauca loquentes : Repellunt nos barbari ad mare, repellit nos mare ad barbaros ; inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum, aut jugulamur aut mergimur : nec pro eis quicquam adjutorii habent.* Interea famis dira ac famosissima vagis ac nutabundis hæret, quæ multos eorum cruentis compellit prædonibus sine dilatione victas dare manus, ut pauxillum ad refocillandum animam cibi caperent : alios vero nusquam quin potius de ipsis montibus, speluncis ac saltibus, dumis consertis continue rebellabant.†

* This was the third legation ; which, proving unsuccessful, they ceased their applications, and the Romans, having their own Picts and Scots (the Goths and Vandals, that is) to deal with in Italy, never more visited Britain, either as friends or foes.

† Gildas, c. 17. The title of this chapter in the old *capitula* is :—“ Quod Britones ad huc, more solito, ad Romanos, mittentes, nihil profecerint : sed rursus suis viribus innitentes *Pictos* propulerint.” The name of the Roman magistrate, to whom the above letters were addressed, as we are informed by Bede, was not *Agitius*, but [*Flavius*] *Ætius*, an illustrious person, and a patrician, who had his third consulship with [*Q. Aurelius*] *Symmachus* [*A. C. 446.*]—“ An. ccccliii. Her sendon ofer sæ Brytwalas to Rome. & heom fultomes bædon with Peohtas. Ac hi thar næfdan nanne.” (*i. c.* This year the Britons sent over sea to Rome, and prayed help against

Tum primum inimicis per multos annos in terra agentibus strages dabant. Quievit parumper inimicorum audacia, nec tamen nostrorum malitia. Recesserunt hostes à civibus, nec cives à suis scele-ribus.*

Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hy-berni domum, post non longum temporis reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, prædas et contritiones non-nunquam facientes.†

the Picts, but they had none). *Chro. Sax.* [ad an.] The fa-mine above-mentioned by Gildas, is placed, by count Marcel-linus, under the consulships of Ætius and Symachus, in the 14th indiction, and in that of Ardaburius and Callypius, in the 15th; that is, the years of Christ, 446 and 447.

* Gildas, c. 18.

† Gildas, c. 19. Instead of *Hyberni domum*, as in Jocel-ines edition, Gale and Bertram, after an ancient manuscript, read *ad hibernas domos*, i. e. to their winter habitations: but unless Bede have falsified his copy, or made use of a corrupt one, he confirms the phrase *Hyberni domum* (or *domus*) to be the ancient and authentic reading, though in direct opposition to what he has himself said in explanation of Gildas's "genti-bus transmarinis, (see before, p. 151.) Henry of Huntingdon, however, says, the Scots with disgrace returned to Ireland: "Scotti cum dedecore *Hyberniam* redeunt." (B. 1, p. 308.) But the text of this ancient historian may have been vitiated in this place, as it is in two others, where he says that Cæsar, after his return from the Britons, into Gaul, sent his legions "in *Hiberniam*," (that is, into Ireland,) an island he did not

Igitur consilium; quid optimum, quidve saluberimum ad repellendas tam crebras et tam ferales supradictarum gentium irruptiones prædasque decerni potius deberet.* Tum omnes consiliarii, unacum superbo tyranno Gurthrigerno Britannorum duce cæcantur, et ad inventientes tale præsidium imo excidium patriæ, ut ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones, deo hominibusque invisi, quasi in caulas lupi, in insulam ad retrudendas aquilonales gentes intromitterentur.†

even know by name; though the editor of that edition has remarked in the margin, “aliter *Hiberna*” (winter-quarters). Surely so excellent a Latin scholar as Bede must have known the difference between *Hiberni* and *Hiberna*.

* Gildas, c. 22. (in the printed copy.)

† Idem, c. 23. “Gorthigernus regnavit in Britannia, et dum ipse regnabat, urgebatur à metu Pictorum, Scotorumque, et à Romano impetu, necnon à timore Ambrosii.” *Nennius*, c. 23.

Gildas wrote about the year 560; Nennius in 858. “Gildas Albanus, or the saint,” according to Mr Pinkerton, “must be carefully distinguished from that Gildas, who wrote the book *De excidio Britonum* [accurately, for *Britanniæ*]; and who lived a century after. Caradoc of Llancarvon,” he adds, “wrote the life of St Gildas, who was only remarkable for superior piety, and was NO WRITER.” (*Enquiry*, II. 275.) Had the enquirer ever looked either into “the life of St Gildas,” by Caradoc, or that by the anonymous monk of Ruys, he would have found him repeatedly called “Brittonum historiographus,” and even the very time and place of writing his history. It is, therefore, an absolute falsehood that Gildas *Albanus* and Gildas *historicus* were different men.

CCCCXLVI. A second time, therefore, the miserable remains, sending letters to Agitius, a man of authority at Rome (in this manner speaking), say : “ To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons :” and after saying a few words : “ The barbarians drive us back to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians ; between these arise two kinds of death, either we are killed, or we are drowned :” neither for these had they any help. In the mean time, a dreadful and most notorious famine afflicts the wandering and unsettled people, which compels many of them, without delay, to yield to the robbers, that they might get a morsel of food to support life ; but others, in no wise, but rather from the very mountains, caves, and woods, interwoven with bushes, continually rebelled.”

Then, for the first time, they overthrew their enemies, who disturbed the country for many years. The audacity of the enemy was for a while at rest, but not so the malice of our own countrymen. The enemy departed from the citizens, not the citizens from their crimes.

The impudent Irish robbers, therefore, return home, after no long time to return. The Picts in the extreme part of the island then for the first time, and thenceforward rested, occasionally making booties and irruptions.

Therefore a council [was held]; what best, or what most salutary, for repelling the so frequent and so savage irruptions and depredations of the abovesaid nations, ought rather to be determined on. Then all the counsellors, together with the proud tyrant Voltigern, the general of the Britons, were blinded, and assembling together [agreed upon] such a defence, nay rather destruction, of the country, that those most ferocious and not-to-be-named Saxons, hateful to god and men, like wolves into sheepfolds, should be let into the island in order to drive back the northern nations.



CCCCXLIX. Anglorum sive Saxonum gens, invitato a rege præfato, in Britanniam tribus longis navibus* advehitur. . . . Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus qui ab aquilone ad aciem venerant, victoriam sumpsere Saxones. . . . Tum subito inito ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis, quos longius jam belando pepulerant, in socios arma vertere incipiunt.†

* ——"Tribus (ut lingua ejus exprimitur) cyulis, nostra lingua longis navibus." Gildas, c. 23. This name of a ship is still preserved in the Newcastle *keels*, or coal barges.

† Beda, L. 1, c. 15. This engagement appears to be the one recorded in the Saxon chronicle: "An. ccccxliv. Se cing [Wyrhtgeorne] het hi [Hengest & Horsa] feohtan agien Pihtas.

Saxones, Pietique bellum adversum Britones junctis viribus susceperunt, quos eadem necessitas in castra contraxerat : et cum trepidi partes suas

& hi swa dydan et sige hæfdon swa hwar swa hi comon." (*i. e.* The king Vortigern commanded Hengest and Horsa to fight against the Picts, and they did so, and had the victory wherever they came.)

According to Henry of Huntingdon, " King Vortigern, by his son and by the army, seeking a pretence of war, was required to administer provisions to them in greater abundance ; threatening, unless a more profuse plenty of victuals were given to them, they, the league being broken, should waste all the places of the island ; nor did they slothfully prosecute threats with effects : for a league being entered into with the Picts, and a numberless army assembled, they found no man who dared anywhere to withstand them." B. I. p. 310. He likewise relates, that the Saxons began a contest against the Picts and the Scots, who now came as far as Stamford. . . As, therefore, those fought with darts and lances, but these with axes and long swords, they fought it most stiffly ; the Picts were unable to bear such a weight, but consulted their safety by flight. *Ibi.* p. 309. From this passage Mr Pinkerton sagaciously infers, " That the *Piks* (as he calls them) seized [and peopled] all the country down to the Humber," and " that had not such been the case, the speech of all that tract would have been Cumraig, or Welch, at this day." (*Enquiry*, I. 325.) With no less absurdity he might maintain, that, in the year 368, they " seized [and peopled] all the country" up to London, for there, in fact, Theodosius found them ; that king David, in 1138, " seized [and peopled] all the country" down to Northallerton ; or that the highlanders, in 1745, " seized [and peopled] all the country" down to Derby. It was mani-

pene impares iudicarent, sanctorum antistitum auxilium petierunt: qui promissum maturantes adventum, tantum securitatis ac fiducia contulerunt, ut accessisse maximus crederetur exercitus. Itaque apostolicis ducibus Christus militabat in castris. Aderant etiam quadragesimæ venerabiles dies, quos religiosiores reddebat præsentia sacerdotum, in tantum ut quotidianis prædicationibus instituti certatim, ad gratiam baptismatis convolarent. Nam maxima exercitus multitudo undam lavacri salutaris expetiit. Ecclesia ad diem resurrectionis dominicæ frondibus contexta componitur, et in expeditione campestri instar civitatis aptatur. Madidus baptisate procedit exercitus, fides fervet in populo; et contempto armorum præsidio, divinitatis expectatur auxilium. Interea hæc institutio vel forma castrorum hostibus nunciatur, qui victoriam quasi de inermi exercitu præsumentes, assumpta alacritate festinant: quorum tamen adventus exploratione cognoscitur. Cumque emensâ sollennitate paschali, recens delavacro pars ma-

festly nothing more than a predatory incursion, and they returned as quick as they came.

The title of Nennius's 35th chapter is, "Qualiter Britones annonas *Saxonibus* promiserunt, ut, pro eis, adversus hostes, scilicet, *Pictos* et *Scotos* dimicarent, sed postea facere noluerunt."

jor exercitus arma capere, et bellum parare tentaret, Germanus ducem se prælii profitetur. Eligit expeditos, circumdatam percurrit, et è regione quâ hostium sperabatur adventus, vallem circumdatam editis montibus intuetur : quo in loco novum componit exercitum, ipse dux agminis. Et jam aderat ferox hostium multitudo, quam appropinquare intuebantur in insidiis constituti. Cum subito Germanus signifer universos admonet, et prædicat, ut voci suæ uno clamore respondeant : securisque hostibus, qui se insperatos adesse confiderent, *Alleluja!* tertio repetitum, sacerdotes exclamant. Sequitur una vox omnium ; et elevatum clamorem percusso aëre montium inclusa multiplicat. Hostile agmen terrore prosternitur, et ruisse super se non solum rupes circumdatas, verum etiam ipsam cœli machinam contremiscunt ; trepidationique injectæ vix sufficere pedum pernitas credebatur : passim fugiunt, arma projiciunt, gaudentes vel nuda corpora eripuisse discrimini : plures etiam timore præcipites, flumen quod sensim venientes transierant, devoravit. Ultionem suam innocens intuetur exercitus, et victoriæ præstitæ otiosus spectator efficitur. Spolia colliguntur exposita, et prædam cœlestis victoriæ miles religiosus dipiscitur. Trium-

phant pontifices, hostibus fuis sine sanguine, triumphant victoria fide obtenta, non viribus.*

CCCCXLIX. The nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, is carried into Britain in three long ships. . . . The contest, therefore, being begun with the enemy, who had come from the north to the battle, the Saxons obtained the victory. . . . Then, having suddenly entered into a league with the Picts, whom they had now by fighting driven to a greater distance, they begin to turn their arms against their allies.

* Constantini, *Vita S. Germani*, L. 1; c. 28. This relation has nearly supplied Bede with a verbal transcript. The battle is placed, in his *Chronicon*, in 459 [449]; by Matthew of Westminster in 448; and by Usher in 430; nearly ten years, that is, before the Saxons are known to have arrived in Britain. Matthew, however, instead of *Saxones* reads *Scotis*. German was dead in 448, if not, as Camden ("from the most approved authors") says, in 435. (See Ushers *Antiquitates*, p. 179, 181, 204, &c.) According to that authority, this *alleluiatic victory* (as he calls it) happened at Mold, in Flintshire. It is, at the same time, mentioned by no English writer but Bede, (in this instance a mere transcriber,) a single manuscript of Nennius, Hoveden, and Matthew of Westminster, and must be allowed to smell pretty strong of the legend. Paulus Diaconus, no doubt, like Bede, was content with the authority of Constantius, (see *Additamenta ad Eutropium*, L. 15). His words are, "Valida Saxonum Pictonumque manus," &c. Sigibert places this event in 436.

The Saxons and the Picts having joined their forces, raised war against the Britons, whom the same necessity had contracted into a camp: and whereas they, being fearful, judged their numbers almost unequal, they besought the aid of the holy prelates: who, hastening their promised arrival, brought so much of security and confidence, that it was believed a great army was come. Therefore, under apostolical leaders, Christ became a soldier in the camp. The venerable days also of quadragesima were at hand, which the presence of the priests rendered more religious; insomuch, that the people eagerly instructed by daily preaching, flocked together to the grace of baptism. For a very great multitude of the army earnestly desired the water of the healing font; and a church, at the day of the lords resurrection, woven with branches, is made, and, in this rural expedition, is fitted up like one of a city. The army proceeds wet from baptism; faith waxes hot in the people; and the garrison, put in fear of arms, expects the aid of the divinity. In the mean time, this institution, or form of purity, is announced to the enemy; who presuming upon victory, as of a weak army, hasten with assumed alacrity; whose coming, however, is known by looking out. And when, the paschal solemnity being passed over, the greater part of the army,

fresh from the font, took their arms and essayed to make ready the war, German professed himself the leader of the battle; elects the nimble-footed, runs over the surrounding parts; and, from the region in which the approach of the enemy is expected, he beholds a valley, encompassed by middle-sized mountains; in which place he marshals his new army, himself the leader of the host. And now already the ferocious multitude of enemies was at hand, which those placed in ambush beheld approach. Then, on a sudden, German, the leader, admonishes all, and commands, that to his voice they answer with one shout; and to the secure enemies, who trusted they had come unexpectedly, the priests exclaim, *Alleluia!* three times repeated. Follows one voice of all; and the hollows of the mountains, by the reverberated air, multiply the sublime clamour. The hostile army is overthrown with terror, and are afraid not only that surrounding rocks, but even the very machine of heaven, should fall upon them; and to this fear cast upon them, swiftness of foot was scarcely believed to suffice. Everywhere they fly; their arms they cast away, rejoicing to have taken even their naked bodies out of danger; a great many also, precipitated by fear, a river, which they had to pass over, swallowed up. The innocent army beholds its revenge,

and is made an idle spectator of the granted victory. The spoils exposed are collected, and the religious soldier embraces the joys of the celestial palm. The prelates triumph, the enemy being routed without blood; they triumph in a victory obtained by faith, not force.

CCCCL. Dixit Hengistus ad regem [Vortigernum], “Ego sum pater tuus, et consiliator ero tibi, et noli præterire consilium meum unquam, quia non timebis te superari ab uno homine, neque ab ulla gente, gens illa mea valida est. Invitabo itaque filium meum cum fratrueli suo: bellatores illi sunt viri, ut dimicent contra Scotos, et da illis regiones quæ sunt in aquilone, juxta murum qui vocatur Gual.” Et jussit ut invitaret eos: quos et invitavit Ochta et Abisa, cum xl chiulis. At ipsi, cum navigarent circa Pictos, vastaverunt Orchades insulas, veneruntque et occupaverunt plurimas regiones [et insulas] trans mare Fresicum, *i. e.* quod inter nos Scotosque est, usque ad confinia Pictorum.*

* Nennius (c. 37.) places “Orcania insula in extremis orbis Britanniae ultra Pictos,” (c. 3.) He elsewhere informs us, that the Picts originally occupied the islands called Orcades, (c. 5.) Whether they left them, of their own accord, on ob-

CCCCL. Hengist said to the king [Vortigern],
 “ I am thy father, and will be a counsellor to thee ;
 and do not at any time neglect my advice, because

taining a settlement in the north of Britain, or were driven out by the Saxons, who are there placed by Claudian about 360, cannot be ascertained.* We shall, however, many years after this, find the Picts maintaining their pretensions to these islands, which fell, in the ninth century, into the hands of the Norwegians, having, it is possible, been entirely deserted of their former inhabitants. Thomas, bishop of Orkney and Zetland, in a formal epistle to the king of Norway, in 1403, has the following words: “ Reperimus . . . quod tempore Haraldī comati primi regis Norwegie [A. 900] . . . hæc terra sive insularum patria Orcadie fuit inhabitata et culta duabus nationibus, scilicet Peti et Pape que due naciones fuerant destructi radicitus et penitus per Norwegenses, de stirpe sive de tribu strenuissimi principis Rognaldi, qui sic sunt ipsas naciones aggressi quod posteritas ipsarum nacionum Peti et Pape non remansit. Sed verum est quod tunc non denominabatur Orcadia sed terra Petorum sicut clare verificatur hodie adhuc, cronica attestante, per mare dividens Scociam et Orcadiam, quod usque ad hodiernum diem mare Petlandicum appellatur, et sicut pulchre subjungitur in iisdem cronicis rex iste Haraldus comatus primo applicuit in Zetlandiam cum classe sua, et consequenter in Orcadia, et contulit illam Orcadiam et Zetlandiam antedicto Rognaldo robusto, ex cujus stirpe ut prefertur prefate due naciones fuerant everse et destructe sicut cronice nostre clare demonstrant.” (Wallace’s *Account of the Islands of Orkney*, 1700.) Torfæus, however, who has writ-

* “ Claudian has, from ignorance, or want of memory, confounded them with the Σαξονικῶν νησῶν, or Isles of the Saxons, of Ptolemy, his countryman.” (Pinkerton’s *Enquiry*, I. 187.) They were not *countrymen*; Claudian being a *Roman*, and Ptolemy a *Greek*.

thou shalt not fear to be overcome by one man, neither by any nation, that nation of mine is [so] powerful. I will therefore invite my son, with his brother-in-law, (these men are warriors,) that they may fight against the Scots; and give them the regions which are in the north, near the wall which is called Gual." And he commanded that he should invite them: whom he [accordingly] invited, and also Ohta and Abisa, with forty keels. But they,

then an express history of the Orcades, (Hauniæ, 1697, fo.) is unable to say anything certain of their most ancient state, contenting himself with the testimonies of those respectable and veracious historians, Geoffrey of Monmouth, John Bromton, George Buchanan, and Thomas Dempster. An ancient author, cited by Innes, relates that St Findan, being led away captive out of Ireland by the Normans or Danes, about the end of the eighth century, they came "ad quasdam insulas, juxta Pictorum gentem, quas Orcades vocant," (p. 92); an additional proof that the Picts were then in possession of the northernmost part of Scotland. We have a much earlier instance from the life of St Gildas, by Caradoc of Llancarvan, who relates that the holy man, during his residence on a small island, lying, it is supposed, in the Severn sea, was afflicted by pirates *de insulis Orcadibus*, who carried off his servants, and plundered his goods. This was before 570. See more under 682.

Joceline, in the life of St Kentegern, has "*Frisicum litus*," by which he seems to mean the æstuary or firth of Forth. It appears, however, more clearly, from Adam of Bremen, that "oceanum *Frisonicum*, quem Romani scribunt *Britannicum*," is the German ocean, or north sea. L. 4, c. 46 (or 208).

when they sailed about the Picts, wasted the Orkney islands, and came and seized a great many regions and islands beyond the Fresic sea, to wit, that which is between us and the Scots, as far as the confines of the Picts.

CCCCLI. Drust Mac Erb kinge of Pictland died.*

——. Talore filius Aniel quatuor annis regnavit.†

CCCCLI. Talore the son of Aniel reigned four years.

CCCCLV. Necton Morbet filius Erip viginti quatuor annis regnavit. Tertio anno regni ejus Dairlugdach abbatissa Cille Darade Hibernia exulat prox ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus sui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige deo et sancte Brigide presente Dairlugtach, que cantavit allelu-

* Mageoghagans *History of Ireland*, 1627 (Sloan. MSS. 4817): between 449 and 454.

† *Cro. Pictorum*. Talarg f. Amil. *Nomina regum*, Ex registro S. Andreae.

ja super istam hostiam. Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus, filius Wirp, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Aburthenige sancte Brigide usque ad diem judicii cum suis finibus quæ positæ sunt à lapide in Apurfeirt usque ad lapidem juxta Cairfuill, id est, Lethfoss ; et inde in altum usque ad Athan. Causa autem oblationis hæc est : Nectonius in uita iulie [f. in exilio] manens, fratre suo Drusto expulsante, se usque ad Hiberniam, Brigidam sanctam petivit, ut postulasset [l. postularet] deum pro se. Orans autem pro illo dixit : si [i. e. certe] pervenies ad patriam tuam, dominus miserebitur tui, regnum Pictorum in pace possidebis.*

* *Cro. Pic.* The unintelligible words *uita iulie* are supposed by mr Pinkerton the latin interpretation of some Irish name.

The register of St Andrews gives the name of this king *Ncthan Thelcamot*.

St. Boecius, who died in 518, having been upon a visit to the holy father Tylian in Italy, arrived, with sixty followers, “ *in Pictorum finibus,*” in the confines of the Picts. Now it happened at that time, proceeds his biographer, that Nectan the king of that country was gone the way of all flesh ; and they also were invited to his funeral, that they might watch the deceased king, and pray for him to the lord : and, when they came into the house, in which lay the lifeless body, the rest being shut out, the man of god, Boccius, gave himself to prayer. His prayer being finished, lo, the deceased arose from

CCCCLV. Nechtan Morbet the son of Erp reigned twenty-four years. In the third year of his reign Darlugdach abbeſs of Kil-Darade was baniſhed from Ireland to Britain. In the ſecond year

the jaws of death ! All were amazed, grief was turned into joy, and god glorified in his ſaint. Finally, the king gave that caſtle in which the miracle was done, with all its poſſeſſion, to the bleſſed Boecius ; in which being conſecrated into a church (*cellam*) he left there one of his own people as warden. (*Vita S. Boecii episcopi*, Cod. Clarendon, Tom. 39, MSS. Sloan. 4788.) If, as is generally ſuppoſed, Nechtan was a pagan, the miracle, of courſe, was the more miraculous.

Leland has an extract “ Ex vita S. *Nectani* [martyris, Hartlandiæ ſepulti],” Col. III. 153 ; whereby he appears to have been one of the 24 children of Brochan, or Brechan, prince of Wales ; all of whom were ſaints, martyrs, or confeſſors, in Devonſhire and Cornwall, leading the life of a hermit. Camden deſcribes Hertlond, in Devonſhire, as “ formerly famous for the reliques of Nectan, a holy man, to whoſe honour a ſmall monaſtery was there built by Githa, earl Godwins wife, who particularly eſteemed Nectan, upon a conceit that her huſband had eſcaped ſhipwreck by virtue of his merits :” for which he cites in the margin *W. Malms.* who never once mentions either Nectan or Githa. This ſaint, however, is patron of the church, and has given name to the village of *St. Nightons*, in Cornwall.

There was, likewise, a British king, named *Natanleod*, ſlain by Cerdic and Cynric in 508 ; from which time that region was called *Natanleag*. (*Chro. Sax.*) His name, therefore, might be *Nectan*, or *Naiton*, according to the orthography of Bede.

of her arrival Nechtan offered up Abernethy to god and St Bridget, in the presence of Dairlugtach, who sung hallelujah upon this sacrifice. Therefore Nechtan the great, the son of Erp, king of all the provinces of the Picts, gave Abernethy to St Bridget until the day of judgment, with its bounds, which are situate from the stone in Apurfeirt, unto the stone near Cairful, that is, Lethfoss; and thence upward as far as Athan. Now the cause of the offering was this: Nechtan, remaining in exile, his brother Drust having banished him into Ireland, besought St Bridget that she would entreat god for him: and she, praying for him, said, Yes, thou shalt arrive in thy country, the lord will have compassion upon thee, thou shalt possess the kingdom of the Picts in peace.

CCCCLXXX. Drest [filius] Gurthinmoch triginta annis regnavit.*

CCCCLXXX. Drest Gurthinmoch reigned thirty years.

DV. Mors Bruidi Mac Mælcon.†

DV. The birth of Bruidi the son of Meilcon.

DX. Galanan [filius] Etilich duodecim annis regnavit.*

DX. Galanan the son of Etilich reigned twelve years.

† *An. Ul.* The annalist either has put *Mors* by mistake for *Nativitas*, or means that it should be so understood: he frequently uses *nativitas* for *mors*, implying the birth of everlasting life. In the MS. it is 504. This correction has been made throughout, for the reason given by O'Flaherty. "Senatensium annalium author Carolus [ante *Cathluanus*] Maguir exactissimus chronographus, prout citationibus ex ejus annalibus apud Usserium, ac Waræum, ultoniensibus dictis, colligo, primus, quod sciam, fuit, qui annos æræ christianæ fastis nostris regrediendo adjunxit; eo tamen ordine, ut ubique unus annus æræ vulgari desit annum usque 1020." *Ogygia*, p. [43.] See an account of both in *Wares Irish writers* by Harris. Colgan, however, calls the author of the Ulster annals *Augustin Macraidin*. Bruidis actual death is placed in 583.

DXXII. Dadrest uno [anno regnavit].*

DXXII. Dadrest reigned one year.

DXXIII. Drest filius Gyrom uno, Drest filius Udrost quinque annis conregnauerunt. Drest filius Girom solus quinque annis regnavit.*

DXXIII. Drest the son of Girom [reigned one year ; and with] Drest the son of Udrost reigned five years. Drest the son of Gyrom alone reigned five years.

DXXXIV. Gartnach filius Girom septem annis regnavit.*

DXXXIV. Gartnach the son of Gyrom reigned seven years.

DXLI. Gailtram filius Girom uno anno regnavit.*

DXLI. Gailtram the son of Gyrom reigned one year.

DXLII. Talorg filius Muircholaich undecim annis regnavit.*

DXLII. Talorg the son of Muircholaich reigned eleven years.

DLIII. Drest filius Munait uno anno regnavit.*

DLIII. Drest the son of Munait reigned one year.

DLIV. Galam [filius] Cennaleph uno anno regnavit, cum Briduo uno anno.*

* *Cro. Pic.* Of Galam Cennaleph Innes makes Galam cum *Alcth*; and Pinkerton absurdly supposes the meaning to be that Galam reigned with *Alcph* one year. Of 62 successive kings, only three omit the word *filius*, by inaccuracy.

DLIV. Galem the son of Cenaleph reigned one year, with Brudei one year.

DLVI. Bridei filius Mailcon triginta annis regnavit.*

DLVI. Brudé the son of Melchon reigned thirty years.

DLIX. Albadi [l. Albani] a Brudeo filio Milchuonis, rege Pictorum, in fugam conversi, Diermitio rege Hiberniæ postrema Temorensia comitia celebranti.†

DLIX. The Albans put to flight by Brudé the

* *Cro. Pic.* "Ind. v. P. C. Basilii, V. C. xvi. [A. C. 557]. In Britannia Bridus rex Pictorum efficitur." *Appendix ad Marcellini comitis chronicon.*

† Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 472), "558. The feast of Tarach by Dermot MacCerbail; *et mors ante filium Mælcon.*" *An. Ul.* The meaning of *Albadi*, or the propriety of *Albani*, is equally doubtful: only Tigernach always calls Scotland *Albania*.

son of Melchon, king of the Picts; Dermot king of Ireland celebrating the last feasts of Tarah.

DLXV. Venit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas, habitu et vita monachi insignis, nomine Columba Britanniam, prædicaturus verbum dei provinciis septentrionalibus Pictorum, hoc est, eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratæ* . . . Venit autem . . . regnante Pictis Bridio filio Melochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus,† gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit: unde et insulam [quæ vocatur Hii‡], ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi, accepit . . . quam successores ejus usque hodie tenent, ubi et ipse sepultus est, cum esset annorum septuaginta sep-

* These southern Picts (as before stated) had been already converted by St Ninian.

† “In VIII. anno regni ejus [Bridei *sci.* filii *Mcilcon*] baptizatus est à S. Columba.” *Cro. Pic.*

‡ Now *Iona*, or *I-Columb-kil* (*i. e.* the island of St. Columba), one of the Hebrides. The real benefactor of the holy man was not Brudé, who, in fact, had no concern in those parts, but Conal MacComgail, king of the Scots. See *An. Ul.* ad an. 573; Ushers *Antiquitates*; and Innes’s *Critical essay*, p. 90. Walafrid Strabo, it is true, in his metrical life of St. Blaithmaic, calls this island (*Eo*) “*Insula Pictorum*”; but he was

tem, post annos circiter triginta et duos ex quo ipse Britanniam prædicaturus adiit.*

either misled by Bede, or meant no more than that it was in the neighbourhood of the Pictish nation.

It is said of St Columba, in the Irish and Scottish breviary :

“ Relinquens patriam caram Hiberniam,
Per Christi gratiam venit ad Scotiam :
Per quem idonea vitæ primordia
Rex gentis sumpsit *Pictiniæ*.”

Usher, 360.

* Bede, L. 3, c. 4. Adomnan, in the life of St Columba, makes frequent mention of king Brudé, to whom the holy man paid a visit at the *domus regia*, or *munitio regis*, or royal palace, at or near Inverness, where he performed several miracles ; two of which it may be permitted to relate. While the saint, with a few brethren, celebrated the evening praises of god, as usual, without the castle of king Brudé, certain magicians (*magi*), coming very near them, endeavoured, as much as they could, to hinder them, lest the sound of the divine praise from their mouth should be heard among the pagan people : which the saint perceiving, he began to sing the forty-fourth psalm ; and in such a wonderful manner was his voice raised in the air, at that moment, like a dreadful thunder, that both the king and the people were struck with intolerable fear. (L. 1, c. 38.) In the country of the Picts was a certain fountain, which the foolish people worshipped or revered as divine : for, drinking from this fountain, or washing in it their hands or feet, they were so smitten, by gods permission, with demoniacal art, that they returned either leprous, or blind of an eye, or maimed, or infested with some other infirmity ; on account of all which the deluded pagans paid divine honour to the fountain : which being known, the saint came one day to

DLXV. Came out of Ireland into Britain a priest and abbot, famous by the habit and the life of a monk, by name Columba, in order to preach the word of god to the northern provinces of the Picts, that is, to those which are sequestered by steep and horrid mountains from the southern regions of those people. . . . Now he came while Brudé the son of Melchon, a most powerful king, was reigning over the Picts, in the ninth year of his reign, and converted that nation, by word and

the fountain which the *magi*, whom he often sent away confused and conquered, seeing, they greatly rejoiced, thinking, that is, that he would suffer the like from the touch of that water. But he having, in the first place, elevated his holy hand, with invocation of the name of Christ, washed his hands and feet : then, afterward, with his companions, drunk of that same water blessed by himself : and from that day the demons departed from the same fountain : and not only was it permitted to hurt no one, but also, after the saints benediction, and lavation therein, many infirmities in the people were healed by the same fountain. (L. 2, c. 10.) In a subsequent chapter, he inflicts with disease, and finally by miracle restores to health, Broichan, a mage or priest, who had refused him the liberty of a Scottish female slave. Upon another occasion, the king, elated with royal pride, will not open to him the gates of his palace ; which, upon the touch of the holy hand, fly open of themselves. (L. 2, c. 36.) St Columba was of the royal family of Ireland. There was another saint of that name, *de Thyr-daglas* or *Tirdeglasensis*, who died 13th Decem. 552 (al. 652). See MS. Sloan. 4738, fo. 60.

example, to the faith of Christ : whence also the island which is called Hy, he received from them for the possession of a monastery to be erected . . . which his successors hold unto this day, and where he himself was buried, when he was of the age of seventy-seven years, about thirty-two years from that in which he came into Britain to preach.



DLXXX. Dei miles [Beatus sci. Kentegernus], igne sancti spiritus succensus . . . post quam viciniore sibi, diocesim videlicet suam [in regione Cambrensi] correxerat ; ad ulteriora progrediens, Pictorum patriam, quæ modo Galwethia dicitur, et circumjacentia ejus, ab idolatriæ spurcitia, et hereticæ doctrinæ contagione, purgavit.*

——. Cenelath rex Pictorum moritur.†

* Jocelinus, *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 34. “. . . continuo infestatio Pictorum atque Scotorum, ab agnitione nominis Christi alienorum a finibus aquilonalibus Britannia, fidem et fideles funditus fugavit . . . Picti vero prius per sanctum Ninianum ex magna parte, postea per sanctos Kentegernum et Columbam fidem susceperunt ; dein in apostasiam lapsi, iterum per prædicationem sancti Kentegerni non solum Picti, sed et Scoti, et populi innumeri in diversis finibus Britannia constituti, ad fidem . . . conversi vel in fide confirmati sunt.” (C. 27.)

† *An. Ul.* This *Cenelath* cannot well be, as Mr Pinkerton

DLXXX. The soldier of god (viz. the blessed Kentegern), inflamed with the fire of the holy spirit . . . after that he had corrected those things which were more near to him, viz. his own diocese, proceeding to those further off, purged the country of the Picts, which is now called Galloway, and its circumjacencies, from the filth of idolatry, and the contagion of heretical doctrine.

——. Cenelath king of the Picts dies.

DLXXXIV. Mors Buide [l. Bruide] Mac Maelcon regis Pictorum.*

DLXXXIV. The death of Brudé the son of Melchon king of the Picts.

DLXXXVI. Gairtnaich filius Domeleh undecim omnis regnavit.†

makes him, the *Aleph* or *Cennaleph*, who reigned one year alone in 554, and another with Brudé. *Cennaleph* may be the same with *Cenelath* (both meant for *Kenneth*): in fact, however, there never was such a king as *Aleph*, nor was *Cennaleph* himself a king, though he was the father of one.

* *An. Ul.*

† *Cro. Pic.*

DLXXXVI. Gartnach the son of Domelch reigned eleven years.

DXCVII. Ongon Ceolwulf ricsian on West-Seaxum. & symble he feaht. & won oththe with Angel-cyn. oththe with Wealas. oththe with Pesh-tas. oththe with Scottas.*

——. Nectū repositus Verbi viginti annis regnavit. †

DXCVII. Ceolwulf began to reign over the West-Saxons, and continually he fought and conquered either the Angles, or the Welsh, or the Picts, or the Scots.

——. Nectan the nephew (or grandson) of Erp reigned twenty years.

* *Chro. Sax.* See also Ethelwerd, p. 836; and Florence [of] Worcester, at 598.

† *Cro. Pic.* “Nethan fil. Ub. Hic ædificavit *Abernethyn*.” *Nomina regum*, §c. This is, certainly, better authority than that of Fordun, who attributes the foundation of Abernethy to “Garnard filius Dompnath.” Bowmaker, the interpolater, and continuator of Fordun, says, “Tunc fuit locus ille sedes principalis, regalis, et pontificalis, per aliquot tempora, totius regni Pictorum.” (*Scotichro.* L. 4, c. 12.)

DCXVII. Cineoch filius Lutrín novemdecim annis regnavit.*

DCXVII. Kenneth the son of Lutrín reigned nineteen years.

DCXXXI. Mors Cinedhou filii Luctreni regis Pictorum.†

DCXXXI. The death of Kenneth the son of Lutrín king of the Picts.

DCXXXIII. Tempore toto quo regnavit Æduini, filii regis Ædilfridi, qui ante illum regnaverat, cum magna nobilium juventute, apud Scottos sive Pictos exulabant.‡

DCXXXIII. During all the time in which Edwin reigned, the sons of king Edilfrid, who had

* *Cro. Pic.*

† *An. Ul.* At 628 they have, by mistake, “*Echdao buidhe, regis Pictorum,*” instead of *regis Scotorum.*

‡ *Beda, L. 3, c. 1.* “*Interca et devotioni regiæ serenus*

reigned before him, with much young nobility, lived in exile among the Scots or Picts.

DCXXXV. Bellum Segaise, in quo cecidit Lactna MacEneasa, et Garthnaith MacOith.*

——. Rex Osuald . . . denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniaë, quæ in quatuor linguas, id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum, divisæ sunt, in ditione accepit.†

DCXXXV. The battle of Segaise, in which fell Lactna, the son of Æneas, and Garthnach, the son of Oith.

——. King Oswald finally received in his rule

divinitatis favor arridebat: adeo ut non solum Britanniaë gentes, Angli, *Scotti*, *Picti*, sed et insulæ *Orchadum* et *Mevaniarum*, et arma ejus metuerunt, et potestatem adorarent." W. Malmes. L. 1, p. 18.

* *An. Ul.* See afterward, at 640.

† Beda, L. 3, c. 6. He might have conquered some of each nation; but, certainly, did not conquer them all. The historians meaning, however, may be, merely, that he had subjects of so many different nations.

all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, that is, of the Britons, Picts, Scots, and English.

DCXXXVI. Garnard filius Wid quatuor annis regnavit.*

DCXXXVI. Garnard the son of Wid reigned four years.

DCXL. Mors Gartna, Mac Foith.†

——. Brudei filius Wid quinque annis regnavit.‡

DCXL. The death of Garnard the son of Foith.

——. Brudé the son of Wid reigned five years.

DCXLII. Osuiu [rex Nordanhymbrorum]

* *Cro. Pic.*

† *An. Ul.* ad an. 634.

‡ *Cro. Pic.* 640. Mors *Buidi* filii. Foith. *An. Ul.* See before, at 635.

Pictorum atque Scottorum gentes, quæ septentrionales Britanniae fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit ac tributarios fecit.*

DCXLII. Oswy, king of the Northumbrians subdued, for the most part, the nations of the Picts and Scots, which possess the northern parts of Britain, and made them tributary.

DCXLV. Talorc frater eorum [Garnard, *sci.* et Brudei] duodecim annis regnavit.†

DCXLV. Talorc brother of Gartnaich and Brudé reigned twelve years.

* Beda, L. 2, c. 5. He elsewhere says that Wilfrid, archbishop of York, administered the bishopric, not only of all the Northumbrians, but also of the Picts, so far as king Oswy had been able to extend his dominions. (L. 4, c. 3.)

† *Cro. Pic.* The original reads *Talore*, certainly by mistake: *Talorc*, *Tallorcen*, *Talorg*, *Talorgan*, *Talorgen*, *Dolairg*, and *Dolargain*, appear to be one and the same name; unless the termination *en* may make a slight difference.

DCLIII. Mors Dolairg Mac Foith regis Pictorum.*

DCLIII. The death of Talorc, son of Foith (or Wid), king of the Picts.

DCLV. Rex [Osuiu] Merciorum genti, necnon et cæteris australium provinciarum populis, præfuit; qui etiam gentem Pictorum, maxima ex parte, regno Anglorum subjecit.†

DCLV. King Oswy presided over the nation of the Mercians, and the other people of the southern provinces; he also subjected the nation of the Picts, for the greatest part, to the dominion of the English.

DCLVII. Tallorcen filius Enfret quatuor annis regnavit.‡

* *An. Ul.* *Foith* seems to be the same with *Oith* and *Wid*.

† *Beda*, L. 3, c. 24.

‡ *Cro. Pic.* *Enfret* and *Anfrith* are the same.

DCLVII. Talorcen, son of Anfrith, reigned four years.

DCLXI. Mors Dolargain, Mac Anfrith, regis Pictorum.*

——. Gartnait filius Donnel sex annis regnavit et dimidium [i. dimidio].†

DCLXI. The death of Talorcen, son of Anfrith, king of the Picts.

——. Gairtnaich, son of Domelch, reigned six years and a half.

DCLXIII. Bellum Ludhofeirn, i. in Fortrein.‡

DCLXIII. The battle of Ludhofeirn, in Fortren.

* *An. Ul.* The date there is 656.

† *Cro. Pic.* *Gartnait*, *Gartnaidh*, *Gartnaich*, *Gartnach*, *Garthnait*, *Gartna*, and *Garnard*, are so many variations of one and the same name ; it is difficult to ascertain the genuine orthography.

‡ *An. Ul.*

DCLXIV. Oceani insulæ per totum, videlicet, Scotia et Britannia, binis vicibus vastatæ sunt dira pestilentia : exceptis duobus populis, hoc est, Pictorum plebe, et Scottorum Britannia; quos utrosque Dorsi montes Britannici disterminant.*

DCLXIV. The islands of the ocean throughout, that is, Scotland and Britain, are twice wasted by a dreadful pestilence : except two people, that is, the people of the Picts and of the Scots of Britain ; which the mountains of Drum-Albain divide from each other.

DCLXVII. Mors Gartnaidh filii Donaldi.†

——. Drest frater ejus [*sci. Gartnait*] septem annis regnavit.‡

* Adomnanus, L. 2, c. 47.

† *An. Ul.* ad an. 662. The annalist frequently gives Irish names to the Picts ; which creates great confusion, as the true names in those instances are totally lost. He, most likely, wrote from hearsay, and could not have made use of Pictish writings if he had had any such.

‡ *Cro. Pic.*

DCLXVII. The death of Gairtnaich, son of Domelch.

———. Drust the brother of Gairtnaich reigned seven years.

DCLXX. In primis annis Ecgfridi, regis Deiorum et Berniciorum, tenero adhuc regno, populi bestiales Pictorum feroci animo subjectionem Saxonum despiciebant, et jugum servitutis à se abjicere minabantur, congregantes undique de utribus et pelliculis aquilonis innumeras gentes, quasi formicarum greges in æstate de tumulis ferventes, aggerem contra domum cadentem muniebant. Quo audito, rex Ecgfridus, humilis in populis suis, magnanimus in hostes, statim equitatu exercito preparato, tarda molimina nesciens sicut Judas Maccabeus, in deum confidens, parva manu populi dei contra enormem et supra invisibilem hostem cum Bernhaeth subaudaci regulo invasit, stragemque immensam populi subruit, duo flumina cadaveribus mortuorum replens, ita (quod mirum est) ut supra siccis pedibus ambulantes, fugientium turbam occidentes persequerentur, et in servitutem redacti populi, usque ad diem occisionis regis, subjecti jugo captivitatis jacebant.*

* Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 19. “Nec minus rex Egfri-

DCLXX. In the first years of Egfrid, king of the Deirians and Bernicians, his reign being yet tender, the bestial people of the Picts, with a ferocious mind despised the subjection of the Saxons, and threatened to cast off them the yoke of slavery, assembling on all sides, from the bags and bladders of the north, innumerable nations, like crowds of ants in summer swarming from their hills, they erected a mound against a falling house: which being heard, king Egfrid, humble toward his people, magnanimous toward his enemies, an army of horse being forthwith prepared, ignorant of tardy enterprises, confiding in god like Judas Machabeus, with a small band of the people of god, marched against an enormous, and, moreover, invisible, army, along with Bernhaeth, the brave kinglet, and overthrew an immense number of people, filling two rivers with the bodies of the dead, so that (which is wonderful to be spoken), walking over them with dry feet, they pursued, killing, the fugitives, and the

duo suo deerat officio, regnum dilatando in Pictos, tuendo in Mercios. Picti, defuncto rege Oswio, parvi facientes teneram infantiam reguli, proruunt ultro et conspirant in Northanimbro: quibus cum sub regulo Bernego regius juvenis occurrens, ita paucis suis militibus in numerabilem Pictorum delevit exercitum, ut campi cadaveribus constrati planitiem amitterent, flumina cursu intercepto subsisterent.” W. Malmes. De gestis pontificum, L. 3.

people, reduced to slavery, remained subject to the yoke of captivity unto the day of the kings death.

DCLXXII. Expulsio Drosto de regno.*

DCLXXII. [The expulsion of Drust from the realm.]

DCLXXIV. Mors Drosto filii Domnail.†

——. Brudei filius Bili viginti uno annis regnavit.‡

DCLXXIV. The death of Drust son of Domelch.

* *An. Ul.* *Drost*, *Drest*, and *Drust*, seem to be one and the same name.

† *An. Ul.* ad an. 677.

‡ *Cro. Pic.* Hujus tempore floruit S. Adamnanus. (*Nomina regum.*)

— . Brudé son of Bili reigned twenty-one years.

DCLXXXI. Ordinatus est antistem Eboraci ab archiepiscopo Trumvini ad provinciam Pictorum, quæ tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subjecta.*

* Beda, L. 4, c. 12. This Trumwin, as witness to a forged charter of Egfrid king of Northumberland, in 685, is designated "*Pictorum episcopus.*" (See *Beda opera*, à Smith, p. 782.) Mr David Macpherson says "Trumwin was appointed bishop of *Qubithern*," a mistake he was probably led into by the *Polychronicon*, or a spurious list at the end of *Florentius Wigornensis*. He resided, however, in the monastery of Abercorn, in Lothian, and was never in any situation at Whithern, nor had the least connection with it. Even Mr Pinkerton allows that "The Piks, over whom Trumwin was bishop, were the Piks of Lothian; as the bishop of Whitherne presided over the south parts of Galloway, which were subject to the *Angli.*" (*Enquiry*, I. 335.) The Bollandists expressly contradict the fable of Trumwin's bishopric being at Whithern; and say that the English were not in possession of it in 731 (when Bede wrote his history); and that Trumwin died about 700; for that, in the shorter life of St. Cuthbert written in the lifetime of king Alfred [of Northumberland], before 705, he calls him "*Beatae memorie,*" which is never said but of the dead. (*AA.SS. F. II*, 416.)

Bishops, in those times, are not to be confounded with the affluent, luxurious, and haughty prelates of the present day.

DCLXXXI. Trumwin was ordained by the archbishop of York bishop to the province of the

They rather, in fact, resembled the modern methodist-preachers, going about from place to place, to inculcate the rudiments of the Christian religion : a primitive practice, which was not entirely disused even so late as the thirteenth century, when Urward, or Edward, bishop of Brechin, about the year 1269, went on foot throughout the whole kingdom, preaching the gospel wherever he came. (Spotiswood, p. 108.) They had, at least in Scotland, neither archdeacons, spiritual officers, parochial clergy, nor any kind of revenue, but what they raised by the labour of their hands, or the charity of their flocks. St. Ninian, about 395, erected a single church, the only one, not in his diocese alone, but in all Scotland ; and in which he had no successor till 731, when Pecthelm became the primary bishop upon a new foundation. St. Columba, the apostle of the northern Picts, had no church at all on the continent of Scotland ; his monastery in Hy being an institution altogether foreign to his bishopric. This, too, was the case of Trumwin, though he actually resided, with his monks, at Abercorn, in the heart of his mission. Neither of them is known to have had a successor. We find, indeed, a *Tuathal Mac Artgusa*, who died in 864 or 5, abbot of Dunkeld, and archbishop of Fortren, or the northern Picts ; and *Cellach*, bishop of St. Andrews, is mentioned in 909 (*An. Ul.*) In the church of Abernethy, according to Fordun, there were three elections made, when, says he, there was but one bishop in Scotland. (L. 4, c. 11.) Forgery, it is true, has not been deficient in the multiplication of imaginary Scottish bishops : even the worthy bishop Keith has directly quoted the authority of Bede for a letter from pope Honorius, in 649, in which he addresses, by name, no less than *five* : not aware, it would seem, that the Scots to whom it was written were the inhabitants of *Ireland*. If St. Kentigern,

Picts, which at that time was subject to the government of the English.

DCLXXXII. *Orcades deletæ sunt à Bruide.**

too, were actually bishop of Glasgow in 560, (and his very existence may be rationally doubted,) he had no successor before 1115; about which period Alexander I. and his successors, in their zeal for religion, or rage for imitation, established bishoprics throughout the kingdom. Exclusive, therefore, of a very few monasteries, there were not, perhaps, above three churches in Scotland, at the commencement of the 9th or 10th century; nor was the division of parishes known till after the 11th or 12th: in a word there was no secular clergy. Most of the Scottish saints, chiefly bishops, in the breviary of Aberdeen, or Keiths catalogue, and still more in Dempsters *Mnologium*, are absolutely false, feigned, and forged, or stolen from other countries.

* *An. Ul.* Eutropius, who is followed by Orosius, Jornandes, Cassiodorus, and Bede, and may himself have followed Eusebius, in whose annals by St. Jerome, he says “*Claudium Orcadas insulas Romano adjecisse imperio,*” has these words, “*Quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britanniam in oceano positas Romano imperio addidit; quæ appellantur Orcades*” (L. 7); but, in this instance, he was probably mistaken, since we have the express testimony of Tacitus that these islands were unknown till their discovery and conquest by Julius Agricola, in the reign of Domitian, about the year of Christ 80: which conquest is thus alluded to by Juvenal:

—“*Arma quidem ultra*

Litora Juvernæ pro movimus, et modo captas

Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.”

Satyra 2.

DCLXXXII. The Orkneys are wasted by Brudé.

DCLXXXV. [Egfrid], rex Northumbriæ , cum temere exercitum ad vastandum Pictorum provinciam duxisset, multum prohibentibus amicis et maximè beatæ memoriæ Cudbercto qui nuper fuit ordinatus episcopus, introductus est, simulantibus fugam hostibus, in angustias inaccessorum montium, et cum maxima parte copiarum quas

(Our arms, indeed, beyond Hibernias shores
We have advanced, the lately-captured Orkneys,
And Britons happy with the shortest night.)

These islands are first mentioned by Pomponius Mela : but Diodorus, a more ancient historian, about sixty years, that is, before the vulgar æra, gives *Orcas*, the southern promontory, as one of the points of his imaginary triangle. They, certainly, appear to have been the ancient, and possibly, the primitive seat of the Picts, at least in the neighbourhood of Britain. (See under the year 450.) Of their particular history, in the seventh and eighth centuries, we are totally ignorant : only we are informed, by Adomnan, in his life of Columba, that this saint, being at the court of king Brudé [in 565], requested that monarch to recommend to the petty king of the Orkneys, then present, and whose hostages were in the kings hands, that such of his people as had lately sailed in quest of a wilderness in the ocean, and who, by the spirit of prophecy, he knew would land in those islands, should receive no harm. (L. 2, c. 43.)

secum adduxerat, exstinctus, anno ætatis suæ quadragesimo, regni autem quinto decimo, die tertio decimo kalendarium Januarii. Ex quo tempore spes cæpit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere *ac retro sublapsa referri*.* Nam et Picti terram possessionis suæ,† quam tenuerunt Angli, et Scotti, qui erant in Brittaniam, Brittonum quoque, pars nonnulla, libertatem receperunt, quam et hactenus habent per annos circa quadraginta sex; ubi inter plurimos gentis Anglorum vel interemptos gladio, vel servitio addictos, vel de terra Pictorum fuga lapsos, etiam reverentissimus vir dei Trumwini, qui in eos episcopatum acceperat, recessit cum suis qui erant in monasterio Æbberecurnig, posito quidem in regione Anglorum, sed in vicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorum disternat.‡

— [Alfridus frater illegitimus Egfridi] per decem et novem annos summa pace et gaudie provinciæ [Northumbriæ] præfuit: non tamen iisdem terminis quibus pater et frater regnum tenuit, quod Picti, recenti victoria insolenter abusi, Anglosque

* From Virgil (*Georgica*, L. 1, v. 209).

† Lothian.

‡ Beda, L. 4, c. 26. Echfrid . . . fecit bellum contra fratulum suum, qui erat rex Pictorum, nomine Birdei [l. Briedei], et ibi corruit eum omni robore exercitus sui, et Picti cum rege suo victores exiterunt: et nunquam addiderunt Saxones

longa pace ignaviores aggressi, fines eorum ab aquilone decurtaverant.*

DCLXXXV. Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who had rashly led an army to waste the province of the Picts, his friends earnestly dissuading him,

ambrohem† ut à Pictis vectigal exigerent à tempore istius belli, vocatur Guerchlum Garan. (Nennius, c. 64.) This slaughter, according to Simeon of Durham, happened at *Nechtanemere*, “quod est,” he adds, “stagnum Nechtani.” 685. “Bellum Duin Neshtain [i. Nechtain] vicesimo die mensis Maii, sabathi die, factum est; in quo Etrfrith Mac Offa rex Saxonum, 15 anno regni sui consummato, magna cum caterva militum suorum, interfectus est.” *An. Ul. Neithanesthyrn*, according to Ruddiman, now contractedly *Nenthorn*, in the Mers, which occurs in a charter of Malcolm IV.; and *Neithanesthyrn* is *Neithans tarn*, or *Nectans-meer*, which had, probably, received that name from some ancient Pictish king who had been there drowned.

* W. Malmes, L. 1, p. 21. What was now re-possessed by the Picts was, apparently, the province of Lothian, or the district between the Forth and the Tweed: they never had any possessions further south, nor the kings of Northumberland further north. It will appear hereafter to have been restored by a Saxon to a Scotch monarch, in right of the kingdom of the Picts.

† By *ambrohem* the author appears to mean a sheriff, or rapacious tax-gatherer, or devourer; though he, elsewhere (p. 143), explains *ambrohes* to be old Saxons. *Ambrohes lupi*, with Gildas, are ravenous wolves.

and chiefly Cuthbert, of blessed memory, who had lately been ordained a bishop, was introduced [into the country], the enemy pretending flight into the straits of inaccessible mountains, and, with the greatest part of the forces which he had brought with him, cut off, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign, on the thirteenth of the calends of January : from which time the hope and valour of the English realm began to decline, *and ever backward flow*. For both the Picts recovered the land of their possession, which the English, and Scots who were in Britain, held, but some part, also, of the Britons their liberty, which likewise they still retain, for about forty-six years; when, among a great many of the English nation, either killed by the sword, or devoted to slavery, or perishing in their flight from the land of the Picts, even that most reverend man of god Trumwin, who had received a bishopric among them, departed with his people who were in the monastery of Abercorn, situated, indeed, in the region of the English, but in the vicinity of the firth which divides the lands of the English and of the Picts.

——. Alfrid, the illegitimate brother of Egfrid, presided for nineteen years over the province of Northumberland in the greatest peace and joy : not, however, with the same bounds with which his fa-

ther and brother held the kingdom ; the Picts, having insolently abused their recent victory, and attacked the English, become more cowardly by a long peace, had curtailed their borders from the north.

DCXCIII. Bruide Mac Bile, rex Fortren moritur.*

* *An. Ul.* “*Forthrev*,” according to Mr D. Macpherson, “as distinguished from *Fife*, contained the upper part of Fife-shire, with Kinross-shire, and the parishes of Clackmannan and Mukard :” he considers *Fortren*, in these annals, as an error for *Forthrev*. The ancient tract, published by Innes, intitled *De situ Albanix*, and supposed to be an extract from the topography of Girald Barry, the Welsh bishop, does, in fact, say, “*quarta pars partium est Fife cum Fothreve* :” and *Fortrein*, according to the *Cronica Pictorum*, a much older authority, was one of the seven sons of Cruidne Mac Cinge, the father of the British Picts : which sons, at the same time, were not, as Innes seems to conjecture, the *septem fratres* of the above tract, by whom Alba was anciently divided into seven parts ; since it expressly names Enegus as the first-begotten of those brethren, whose name does not occur in the *Pictish Chronicle*. *Fife* and *Fotherif* are, likewise, met with in a charter of David I., printed by Sir James Dalrymple (*Col.* 385). It is, at any rate, most probable that *Forthrev* is an error for *Fortren*, the latter being, apparently, several centuries older ; and the variation, in fact, being no more than a single letter. It is, after all, by no means unlikely, that by *Fortren*, or, more properly, *Forthrin*, is to be understood the whole of modern Fife, and part of *Strathern*, including *Forteviot* and

——. Mors Ailphin Mac Nechtan.*

DCXCIII. Bruidé son of Bili, king of Fortren, dies.

——. The death of Alpin son of Nechtan.

DCXCV. Taran filius Entifidich quatuor annis regnavit.†

Abernethy, the seats, it is well known, of the ancient Pictish kings. The etymology of its name, in this sense, being to be found in *Forth*, the river, firth, or æstuary so called, and the Irish *rinn*, or Welsh (and, possibly, Pictish) *rhin*, a peninsula, promontory, foreland, or ness; as, for instance, *The rynnish of Galloway*: which is certainly descriptive of the situation of *Fife*: to which may be added, that sir James Dalrymple had seen a charter granted by Alexander II. to the abbey of Kinlos, in Murray, in 1221, in which was a boundary, “usque ad *Rune Pictorum*.” (*Col.* p. 100.) “The *Rinnes*, also, were a country north of Tay; being mentioned in *The battell of Balrinnes*:

“To waste the *Rinnes* he thought best.”

Mr Pinkerton asserts that “*Pikland* he [Tighernac] often calls *Fortren*, from the kings residence at *Forteviot*, or *some chieftowen*” (*Enquiry*, I. 302): though he had never then seen Tighernaes chronology, and confounds it with the Ulster annals, which do not, in fact, explicitly say what they mean. In one of the maps he makes *Fortren* the *Regia munitio*, or royal castle of Bruidei, at or near Inverness.

* *Cro. Pic.*

† Beda, I. 5, c. 24. See further mention of this battle in

DCXCV. Taran, son of Entifidic reigned four years.

DCXCIX. Berctred dux regius Nordanhymbrorum à Pictis interfectus.

——. Bredei MacDerilei undecim annis regnavit.*

DCXCIX. Bertred, commander for the king, of the Northumbrians, slain by the Picts.

——. Brudei, son of Derili, reigned eleven years.

DCC. Brude MacDerile mortuus [est.]†

DCC. Brudei, son of Derili, died.

the Saxon chronicle *A.* 699; *An. Ul. A.* 697; *H. of Huntingdon*, p. 337.

* *Cro. Pic.*

† *An. Ul.* If this Brudei actually ascended the throne in 699, and reigned eleven years, this date should be 710.

DCCVIII. Offerus consul Northanhumbroꝝ, contra Pictos dimicans, eorumque maximam multitudinem sternens, Egfridi ultor fuit.

DCCVIII. Offer, earl of the Northumbrians, fighting against the Picts, and prostrating a very great multitude of them, was the avenger of Egfrid.

DCCX. Beorhtfryth ealdor-man feaht with Peohtas betwix Hæfe & Cære.*

DCCX. Beorhtfrith, the lieutenant, fought with the Picts between Hafe and Care.

* *Chro. Sax.* “ Porro post annum *Nunna* et *Ine* reges bellum gesserunt contra *Vuthgircete* regem, dux quoque *Bcorktfrid*, adversus *Peohtas*.” *Ethelwerdus*, p. 837. “ Tunc etiam *Berfrid* consul restitit superbiæ Pictorum, dimicans inter *Hæve* et *Cære* ; ubi multitudine magna Pictorum strata ultor exitit regis Egfridi, et consulis Berti.” *H. Hun.* p. 337. “ *Berhfridus*, regis *Osredi* præfectus, cum Pictis pugnavit, et victor exitit.” *Flo. Wigor. ad an.* The place of action is not now known, but was probably in Northumberland ; and *Cære* may possibly be *Carrum*.

DCCXI. Strages Pictorum in campo Mannan, apud Saxones, ubi Finguine filius Delaroith in mala morte facuit [l. finivit].*

— . Nechton filius Derilei quindecim annis regnavit.†

— . Naiton rex Pictorum, qui septentrionales Britanniae plagas inhabitant, admonitus ecclesiasticarum frequenti meditatione scripturarum, abrenunciavit errori, quo eatenus in observatione Paschæ cum sua gente tenebatur, et se suosque omnes ad catholicum dominicæ resurrectionis tempus celebrandum perduxit. Quod ut facilius majori auctoritate perficeret, quæsivit auxilium de gente Anglorum, quos jamdudum ad exemplum sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ suam religionem instituisse cognovit. Siquidem misit legatarios ad virum venerabilem Ceolfridum, abbatem monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quod est ad ostium Viuri amnis et juxta amnem Tinam, in loco qui vocatur In-Gyruum . . . postulans ut exhortatorias sibi litteras mitteret, quibus potentius confutare posset eos qui Pascha non suo tempore observare præsumerent ; simul et de tonsuræ modo vel ratione qua clericos insigniri deceret : excepto quod etiam ipse

* *An. Ul.* Possibly the same engagement.

† *Cro. Pic.*

in his non parva ex parte esset imbutus. Sed et architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent, promittens hanc in honorem beati apostolorum principis dedicandam, se quoque ipsum cum suis omnibus, morem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ semper imitaturum, in quantum duntaxat tam longe à Romanorum loquela et natione congregate hunc ediscere potuissent. Cujus religiosis votis ac precibus favens reverentissimus abba Ceolfrid, misit architectos quos petebatur, misit illi et litteras scriptas.*

DCCXI. Slaughter of the Picts, in the field Mannan, among the Saxons, where Finguini, son of Delaroith, ended in an evil death.

——. Nechtan, son of Derili, reigned fifteen years.

* Beda, L. 5, c. 21. He inserts the letter of Ceolfrid, which is of considerable length, and totally uninteresting. It was addressed “*Domino excellentissimo et gloriosissimo regi Naitano,*” &c. The king had it interpreted into his own language, was much rejoiced with the abbots exhortations, and acted accordingly. Innes supposed this correspondence to have taken place in 715, dr. Smith, in 710; and, perhaps, it might be in some intermediate year.

— Nechtan, king of the Picts, who inhabit the north parts of Britain, being admonished by the frequent meditation of ecclesiastical writings, renounced the error, in which he, with his nation, had till then been held, in the observation of Easter ; and brought over himself and all his people to celebrate the lords resurrection at the catholic time : which that he might effect the more easily, and with the greater authority, he sought the aid of the English nation, whom he knew to have long ago settled their religion after the example of the holy Roman and apostolic church. So he sent ambassadors to the venerable man Ceolfrid, abbot of the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which is at the mouth of the river Wear, and near the river Tyne, in a place which is called Jarrow . . . intreating that he would send to him exhortatory letters, by which he might be able more powerfully to confute those who should presume to observe Easter not at his time ; and, at the same time, of the manner or reason of the tonsure by which it became clerks to be distinguished ; not but that he himself was in these things in no small degree conversant. He also requested architects to be sent to him, who, according to the manner of the Romans, should make a church of stone in his nation ; promising to dedicate it in honour of the blessed prince of the apostles ; and that he himself likewise, with all his people, would

always imitate the manner of the holy Roman and apostolic church, as much, at least, as, sequestered at such a distance, they were able to learn. The most reverend father, Ceolfrid, favouring his religious wishes and prayers, sent the architects which he requested, and sent him also written letters.

DCCXIII. Cinio Mac Derili, et filius Mathgennan jugulati sunt. Tolarg, filius Drostani, ligatur apud fratrem suum Nechtain regem.*

DCCXIII. Cinio, the son of Derili, and his son Mathgennan, have their throats cut. Tolarg, the son of Drostan, is bound at his brothers, king Nechtan.

DCCXVII. Duncha Mac Cinfola, abbas Iæ, obiit. Expulsio familiæ Iæ manstorsum [l. trans dorsum] Britanniaë, à Nectano rege.†

* *An. Ul.*

† *An. Ul.*

DCCXVII. Duncan Mac Cinfaoila, abbot of Hy, died. The banishment of the monks of Hy beyond Drum-Albain by king Nechtan.

DCCXXI. Fergust bishop of Scotland, a Pict, and Sedulius bishop of Britain, of the nation of the Scots, were present at a council in Rome.*

DCCXXV. Congal MacMaille anfa Brecc Fortren, et Oan princeps Ega, moriuntur.

DCCXXV. Congal MacMaille anfa Brecc Fortren, and Owen prince of Eg, died.

DCCXXVI. Netan MacDerile constringitur à Drost rege. Tolargan Maphan moritur.†

——. Drest et Elpin conregnauerunt quinque annis.‡

* Usher, p. 408.

† *An. Ul.*

‡ *Cro. Pic.*

DCCXXVI. Nechtan the son of Derili is imprisoned by king Drust. Tolargan Maphan dies.

———. Drust and Alpin reigned together five years.

DCCXXVII. Bellum Monacrib inter Pictores [i. Pictones] invicem, ubi Eneas victor fuit, et multi ex parte Elpini regis perempti sunt. Bellum lacrimatile inter eosdem gestum est, juxta castellum Crei, ubi Elpinus effugit.*

DCCXXVII. The battle of Monacrib between the Picts with each other, where Angus was victor, and many on the part of king Alpin were killed. A grievous battle amongst the same was struck near the castle of Crei, where Alpin fled.

DCCXXIX. Bellum Monacurna, juxta stag-

* *An Ul.* Mr D. Macpherson suggests that *Monacrib* may be a corruption of *Moncrif*, in Gowry.

num Loga, inter hostem Nechtain, et exercitum Angusa: et exactatores Nechtain ceciderunt, viz. Riceat MacMoneit, et filius ejus. Fingaine MacDrostain, Ferach MacFingaine, et quidam Mudti [l. Minerti], cum familia Aongusa, triumphaverunt. Bellum Droma Derg Blathug, in regionibus, Pictorum, inter Aongum et Drost regem Pictorum, et occidit Drost.*

DCCXXIX. The battle of Monacurn, near the lake Loga, between the host of Nechtan, and the army of Angus: and the officers of Nechtan fell, viz. Riceat MacMoneit and his son. Fingain MacFingair, and one Mudti, with the family of Angus, triumphed. The battle of Droma Derg Blathug,

* *An. Ul. Monacurna*, according to mr David Macpherson, may be “*Carn Gaur*, at the foot of which is *L. Loch*.” *Droma Derg Blathug* he supposes to be “*Ben Derg*, a remarkable hill of the great ridge (*drum*) called the *Mounth*, near which is a place called *Clachag* on the *Tilt*.” The dates of these annals, at least in the earlier part, are generally a year or more too late. These should, probably, be 726, 728, 729; and so of the rest. See *Ogygia*, p. [43]. The meaning of *exactatores Nechtain ceciderunt* is obscure; it may be, that these oppressors killed Nechtan.

in the regions of the Picts, between Angus and Drust king of the Picts; and Drust is killed.

DCCXXX. Onnist filius Uргуист trīginta [annis] regnavit.*

DCCXXX. Umnust son of Uргust reigned thirty years.

DCCXXXI. Bellum inter Cruithne et Dalriada, ubi Cruithne devicti. Bellum inter filium Aongusa et filium Congusa; sed Bruide vicit Talorum fugiente.†

——. Pictorum natio tempore hoc et fœdus pacis cum gente habet Anglorum, et catholicæ pacis ac veritatis cum universali ecclesia particeps existere gaudeat.‡

DCCXXXI. A battle between the Picts and

* *Cro. Pic. V. An. 761.*

† *An. Ul.*

‡ *Beda. l. 5. c. 23.*

the Scots, where the Picts were defeated. A battle between the son of Hungus and the son of Congus ; but Bruidei conquered Talorcan flying.

——. The nation of the Picts, at this time, both has a league of peace with the English nation, and may rejoice in being partaker of catholic peace and verity with the universal church.

DCCXXXIII. Duncan Mac Selvaich dehonora-
 ravit Forai [l. Toraic], cum Brudonem ex ea
 traxit ; et eadem vice insulam [Culren] Rigi inva-
 sit.*

DCCXXXIII. Duncan son of Selvaich disho-
 noured Toraic, when Bruidei he drew thereout ;
 and, at the same time, invaded the island of Cul-
 ren-Rigi.

DCCXXXIV. Talorg Mac Congusa à fratre
 suo victus est, et traditur in manus Pictorum ; et

* *An. Ul.* and Pinkertons *Advertisement*, 1794.

ab illis magna [l. aqua] demersus est. Talorgan, filius Drostani, comprehensus alligatur juxta arcem Olia.*

DCCXXXIV. Talorg MacCongus is conquered by his brother, and delivered into the hands of the Piets; and by them drowned in a great water. Talorgan, son of Drostan, being taken, is bound near the fortress Olia.

DCCXXXV. Aongusa Mac Fergusa, rex Pictorum, vastavit regiones Dalriada; et obtinuit Dunat, et combussit Creid [l. Creic]; et duos filios Selvaich catenis alligavit, viz. Dongal et Feraach: Et paulo post Brudens Mac Angusa Mac Fergusa obiit.†

— Bellum Tuini Ouirbre at Calaros inter Dalriada et Fortrin, et Talorgan Mac Fergusa Mac Airccellai fugientem cum exercitu persequitur. In qua congressione multi nobiles conceciderunt.‡

* *An. Ul.*

† *Ibi.* Creic, according to Mr Macpherson, "seems in Lorn," and Dunat "on the coast of Lorn or Argyle."

‡ *Ibi.* After *Calaros* the MS. reads "Upper line." For

DCCXXXV. Hungus, son of Wergust, king of the Picts, wasted the regions of Dalriada; and won Dunat, and burned Creic; and bound with chains the two sons of Selvaich, viz. Dongal and Ferrach: and soon after Brudei, son of Hungus, son of Wergust, died.

— The battle of Tuini-Ouirbre at Culros, between Dalriada and Fortrin (*i. e.* the Scots and Picts); and Talorgan, son of Wergust, son of Air-cellai, flying, is pursued with the army: in which engagement many nobles fell.

DCCXXXVI. Died Edwyn [*r.* Elpin], king of the Picts.*

Twini Ouirbre, according to Mr Pinkerton, we are to “read (the strange corruption of) *Cnuice Coirpre I calatros ne atq lindu.*” See *Annals of the Scots, ad an.*

* Caradoc, *Historie of Cambria*, p. 15. No such monarch, however, as either *Edwyn* or *Elpin*, appears, from any other authority, to have died in this year. In the *Ulster Annals*, at 779, is “*Eilpin*, king of the *Saxons*, died;” where *Saxons* is a manifest mistake for *Picts*. So that here *Edwyn* may be right, and *Picts* a mistake for *Saxons*.

DCCXXXIX. Talorgan Mac Drostan, rex Ahafoitle, demersus est ab Aongus.*

DCCXXXIX. Talorgan, son of Drostan, king of Ahafoitle, is drowned by Hungus.

DCCXL. Ædilbaldus, rex Merciorum, per impiam fraudem vastabat partem Nordanhymbro-
rum; eratque rex eorum Eadberctus occupatus,
cum suo exercitu contra Pictos.†

DCCXL. Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, through impious fraud, wasted part of the Northumbrians; and their king Edbert was occupied with his army against the Picts.

* *An. Ul.* Original *Atfoille*: Q. Athol, written *Adtheodle*, in the ancient tract *De situ Albanie*, and *Athochlach*, in the *Cronica Pictorum*.

† Beda, L. 5, c. ult.

DCCXLI. Percussio Dariada ab Eneas Mac Fergusu.*

DCCXLI. The invasion of Argyle by Hungus son of Wergust.

DCCXLIV. Factum est prælium inter Pictos et Brittones.†

DCCXLIV. A battle is fought between the Picts and the Britons.

DCCL. Bellum Cato inter Pictores [i. Pictones] et Brittones; in quo cecidit Talorgan Mac Fergusu, frater Aongusa.‡

* *An. Ul.*

† S. Dunel. co. 104. These Britons were, doubtless, the Strath-Clyde Welsh. Mageoghanan, in his MS. history of Ireland, says, at 746, "The battle of Oicke, between the Picts and Brittons, was fought, where Talorgan M'Fergus, brother of king Enos, was slaine."

‡ *An. Ul.* "Not long after [750] there was a great battle fought betwixt the Brytaines and the Pictes at a place called

— . Cudretus, rex orientalium Saxonum, surrexit contra Ædibaldum regem et Oengusum. Eadberctus campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus suo regno addidit.*

DCCL. The battle of Cato, between the Picts and the Britons ; in which fell Talorgan the son of Wergust, the brother of Hungus.

— . Cudred, king of the west Saxons, rose against king Æthelbald, and Hungus. Edbert added to his dominion the plain Kyle, with other regions.

DCCLVI. Eadberht rex [Northumbriæ] et Unust rex Pictorum duxerunt exercitum ad urbem Alewith. Ibique Brittones inde conditionem acceperunt † prima die mensis Augusti. Decima autem die ejusdem mensis interiit exercitus pene

Magedawe, where Dalargan king of the Pictes was slain." Caradoc, p. 16.

* Beda, *Epitome sive auctarium, ad finem historiæ*. This *Cyilis*, by Camden and others, supposed to be *Kyle* near Galloway. Cudred is repeatedly called king of the West Saxons in the *Saxon Chronicle*.

+ *In deditionem receperunt*, (Kilm.) Usher.

omnis quem duxit de Ouoma ad Niwanbirig, id est, ad novam civitatem.*

DCCLVI. Edbert king of Northumberland, and Hungus, king of the Picts, led an army to the city of Alcluyd: and there they received the Britons upon condition the first day of the month of August; but, on the tenth day of the same month, almost all the army which he led from Ouoma to Newburgh, that is, the new city, perished.

DCCLXI. Oengus Pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus perduxit carnifex.†

——. Bredei filius Wirguist duo annis regnavit.‡

DCCLXI. Died Hungus king of the Picts, who

* S. Dunel. co. 105. *Niwanbirig* is *Newburgh*; a place of that name is in the old kingdom of Northumberland, near York. Edbert took the tonsure in 757. (*Chro. Sax.*)

† Beda, L. 5, c. 24. Simeon places the death of this monarch, whom he calls *Unust*, in 759: the Ulster annalist, who calls him "*Aongusa Mac Fergus*," in 760.

‡ *Cro. Pic.*

conducted [himself from] the beginning to the end of his reign with bloody wickedness, a tyrant and an executioner.

——. Brudei the son of Wirgust reigned two years.

DCCLXIII. Bruide rex Fortren mortuus [est.]*

——. Ciniod filius Wredech duodecim annis regnavit.†

DCCLXIII. Bruidé king of Fortren died.

——. Kenneth the son of Wirdech reigned twelve years.

DCCLXVIII. Battle at Fortren, between Hugh and Cinaoh.‡

DCCLXXIV. Alcredus rex [Northan hymbro-

* *An. Ul.*

† *Cro. Pic.*

‡ *An. Ul.* Hugh, or Aod, was king of the Scots; Cinaoh, or Kenneth, king of the Picts.

rum], consilio et consensu suorum omnium, regie familie ac principum destitutis societate, exilio imperii mutavit majestatem. Primo in urbe Beoban, postea ad regem Pictorum nomine Cynoth, cum paucis fuge comitibus secessit.*

DCCLXXIV. Alred king of the Northumbrians, with the counsel and consent of all his people, bereft of the society of the royal family and princes, changed the majesty of empire for exile. At first, with a few companions of his dignity, he retired to Bamburgh, afterwards to the king of the Picts, named Kenneth.

DCCLXXV. Rex Pictorum Cynoth ex voragine hujus exulantis vite eripitur.*

— Elpin filius Wrold tribus annis et dimidium [i. dimidio] regnavit.

* S. Dunel. co. 107.

+ Idem. co. 107. — 774. Mors Cinan rex [i. regis] Pictorum." *Ann. Ul.* = 764 [i. 774] died Cenoyd the king of the Picts." *Caradoc*, p. 18. The name of this monarch is corrupted into *Nathus* [i. Cynothus] in the printed chronicle of *Melros*.

† *Chr. Pic.*

DCCLXXV. Kenneth king of the Picts is snatched out of the whirlpool of this filthy life.

———. Alpin son of Wroid reigned three years and a half.

DCCLXXVI. Bellum Druing, iterum in eodem anno, inter Dalnarai ; in quo cecidit Cineoh Claireg Mac Cahasai, et Dungal O Fergusa Fortrain. Tomaltach Mac Jurechtai et Eacha Mac Fiachna victores erant.*

DCCLXXVI. The battle of Druing, a second time in the same year, between Dalnarai ; in which fell Kenneth son of Cahasai, and Dungal son of Wirgust of Fortrain. Tomaltach son of Jurechtai and Eacha son of Fiachna were victors.

* *An. Ul.* This article seems very confused : perhaps the annalist intended to describe a battle between *Dabriada* and *Fortrain* (*i. e.* Scots and Picts) : perhaps, also, it happened in Ireland.

DCCLXXIX. Eilpin king of Saxons [r. Picts] died.*

———. Drest filius Talorgen quatuor vel quinque annis regnavit.†

———. Drust son of Talorgan reigned four or five years.

DCCLXXXII. Duvtalarg, rex Pictorum citra Monah, mortuus [est].‡

* *An. Ul.*

† *Cro. Pic.*

‡ *An. Ul.* The annalist means the Southern Picts, of the succession of whose kings we know little or nothing. Father Innes considers this *Dustalorg*, as written in the Scottish lists, a visible error for *Drest* and *Talorgan*, who, he says, reigned together. The Pictish chronicle, however, does not support this assertion; so that *Dustalorg* might be a different man. After this *Dustalorg* the register of St Andrews adds “*Eoganan* filius *Hungus* tribus annis;” and sir James Balfour, from the same authority, speaks of “the little, but ancient priory of Portmuck, founded by *Eogachmen*, king of the Picts, . . . anno 1 regni sui.” (Sibbalds *History of Fife*, p. 110.) These

DCCLXXXII. Duvtalarg, king of the Picts on this side of the Mounth, died.

DCCLXXXIII. Talorgen filius Onnist duo annis et dimidium [l. dimidio] regnavit.*

DCCLXXXIII. Talorgan son of Oengus reigned two years and a half.

DCCLXXXVI. Conaul filius Tarla quinque annis regnavit.†

DCCLXXXVI. Conal son of Tarla reigned five years.

DCCLXXXIX. Battle betweene the Pightes, facts, however, require more ancient and authentic testimony than that register, if, indeed, we could get a sight of it.

* *Cro. Pic.*

† *Ibi.*

where Conall Mac Teige [f. Tarla or Terle] was vanquished, yett went away ; and Constantin was conqueror.*

DCCXCI. Co[n]stantin filius Wrguist triginta quinque [l. triginta] annis regnavit.†

* *An. Ul.* The MS. has 788, and adds, under 789, “ The battle of Conall and Constantin is written here, in other books.” Mr Pinkerton, who professes to have collated his extracts “ three times with the MS.” has, in both instances, *Donall* and *Domall*. His copy, therefore, is not free from errors any more than Johnstones.

† *Cro. Pic.* “ *Constantin filius Fergusa 42 annis. Hic ædificavit Dunkelden.*” *Nomina regum.* Alexander Mill, canon of Dunkeld, and, afterward, abbot of Cambuskenneth, and first president of the court of session, in his account of the bishops of Dunkeld, extant in a MS. of the advocates-library, relates that this Constantine (whom he calls Constantine III.) king of the Picts, did, at the instance of Adomnan, abbot of Hy, institute at that place a monastery of Culdees, in honour of St Columba, the patron-saint of that nation, about the year 729 [792.] See Keiths *Catalogue*, p. 46. For this rambling assertion, however, he could have no possible authority, as Adomnan died in 703, (*An. Ul.*) above fourscore years, that is, before Constantine ascended the throne. An anonymous life, also, of St Cuthbert, cited by Usher (p. 368), “ ex historiis Hiberniensium,” asserts Columba to have been the first bishop of Dunkeld, and to have there educated St Cuthbert when a child : which is no less false and ridiculous, St Columba being dead several centuries before St Cuthbert was born. True it is,

DCCXCI. Constantine, son of Wirgust, reigned thirty years.

DCCXCVI. Ethelred rex [Northanhymbrorum] occisus est apud Cobre [l. Corebrygge*], decimo quarto kalendas Maii. Osbald vero patricius à quibusdam ipsius gentis principibus in regnum est constitutus, et post viginti septem dies omni regiæ familiæ, ac principum, est societate destitutus, fugatusque, et de regno expulsus, atque ad insulam Lindisfarnensem cum paucis secessit, et inde ad regem Pictorum cum quibusdam à fratribus navigio pervenit.†

DCCXCVI. Ethelred, king of the Northum-

nevertheless, that the Scots (the successors of the Picts) held the memory of this holy man in great veneration to a late period; which is evinced by the foundation of an abbey, in the island Æmonia, now Inch-Colm, in the Forth, by Alexander I. about the year 1122, dedicated to St Columba; and not, as Mr David Macpherson has erroneously conceived, to another saint of the same, or a similar name. See Keiths *Catalogue*, p. 236.

▪ See the Cotton MS. Caligula A. VIII. fo. 30, b.

† S. Dunel. co. 113. “ Post occisum Æthelredum Nordan-

brians, was slain at Corbridge, the fourteenth of the calends of May. Osbald, verily, a nobleman, was, by certain princes of the same nation, appointed to the kingdom ; and, after twenty-seven days, was deprived of all society of the royal family and princes, and banished, and expelled out of the kingdom, and, with a few attendants, retired to the island of Lindisfarne, and thence, with certain of his brothers, came to the king of the Picts in a ship.

DCCCXX. Constantin Mac Fergus king of Fortren *mortuus* [*est*].*

lumborum regem et Scoti tractum illum, qui Galwalliæ, seu Gallovidiæ, ab eis nomen accepit, et Picti Laudoniam occupasse." O'Flaherty, p. 483. According, also, to Innes, "About the end of this age, and the beginning of the next, the Picts possessed themselves of Galloway" (p. 97). Neither of these writers, however, cites the least authority, nor does it appear why they should particularly fix upon this æra ; unless the fabulous *Polychronicon* (quoted by the latter, p. 161) should be thought sufficient for that purpose. The passage from Malmesbury, cited under 790, seems to prove no such thing.

* *Cro. Pic.*

DCCCXXI. Unuist filius Wrguist duodecim annis regnavit.*

DCCCXXI. Oengus, son of Wrgust, reigned twelve years.

DCCCXXXIV. Aongus Mac Fergus [rectius

* *Cro. Pic.* “*Hungus filius Fergusæ 10 an. Hic ædificavit Kilrymont.*” *Nomina regum.* Of this foundation the following particulars of a supposititious charter are communicated by sir Robert Sibbald, from “the extracts out of the old register of St Andrews” (*History of Fife*, p. 68), and inserted in the appendix to volume I. of Pinkertons *Enquiry*, p. 460: but, being a palpable and ridiculous forgery, of a late date, (this “old register” being manifestly a compilation of the fifteenth century, or, peradventure, of a still more recent period,) shall not be permitted to pollute the pages of this authentic chronology.

John de Fordun, a credulous and mendacious fabricator, undeserving the honourable name of historian, pretends that in the time in which Hungus reigned, and, in Westsex, Ethelwulf, the head of whose eldest son Athelstan, fixed upon a stake, the victory of the battle being obtained, the king carried with him into his kingdom (p. 300). He, afterward, relates the engagement with more circumstance; but is unsupported by any English historiographer: and, indeed, that the whole story is perfectly fabulous. See Ushers *Antiquitates*, p. 373.

Oengus filius Wrgest] king of Fortren mortuus
[est.]*

——. Drest filius Constantin, et Talorgen filius
Wthoil, tribus annis conregnauerunt.†

——. Drust, son of Constantine, and Talorgan
son of Wthoil, reigned together three years.

DCCCXXXVI. Uven filius Unuist tribus an-
nis regnavit.‡

DCCCXXXVI. Uven son of Oengus reigned
three years.

DCCCXXXVII. Alpin filius Heoghed An-

* *An. Ul.*

† *Cro. Pic.*

‡ *Cro. Pic.* This "Uven filius Unuist" is the "Owen
Mac Angus" of the Ulster annals. See below, anno 839.

nuine [rex Scottorum], tribus annis [regnavit]. Hic occisus est in Gallewethia, postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit: et hinc translatum est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.*

DCCCXXXVII. Alpin son of Eeoehy the poisonous [king of the Scots], reigned three years. He was slain in Galloway, after he [had] entirely destroyed and wasted it: and hence the kingdom of the Scots was translated into the kingdom of the Picts.



DCCCXXXIX. Battle of the gentiles upon Fortren-men; wherein fell Owen Mac Angus, and Bran Mac Angus, Hugh Mac Boan, *et alii pene innumerabiles*.

* *Nomina regum*. “Deinde reges de semine *Fergus* regnaverunt in *Brunalban*, sive *Brunhere*, usque ad Alpinum filium *Eochal*.” (*De situ Albanix*.) He is, elsewhere, called “*Alpin filius Eochal venenosi*.” (*Cro. regum*.) See, also, *Chro. de Mailros*, annis 804, 834, 841, 843. That “the name of the father of Alpin is lost beyond all recovery,” is another of “the pitiful shifts and perversions used in this business.” See Pinkertons *Enquiry*, II. 132.

—• Wrad filius Bargoit tribus annis regnavit.*

—• Wrad, son of Bargoit, reigned three years.

DCCCXLI. Bred uno anno regnavit.†

DCCCXLI. Bred reigned one year.

—• Kinath Mac Alpin sexdecim annis super Scotos regnavit, destructis Pictis. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.‡

* *Cro. Pic.*

† *Ibi.* This *Wrad*, or *Wroid*, and *Bred*, in the *Nomina regum* are called “*Ferat filius Batot 3 an.*” and “*Brude filius Ferat 1 mense:*” to whom are there added, “*Kinat filius Ferat 1 mense;*” “*Brude filius Fotel 2 annis;*” and “*Drust filius Ferat 3 annis. Hic occisus est apud Forteviot;* secundum alios, apud *Sconam.*” This *Wrad*, or *Ferat*, and his sons, seem to have made several attempts against Kenneth Mac Alpin, for the recovery or possession of the Pictish crown; some of which were, temporarily, successful: but all, no doubt, ended in their destruction.

‡ *Nomina regum.* “*Kined filius hujus Alpini primus Scottorum annis sexdecim in Pictinia feliciter regnavit.*” *De*

— Kenneth son of Alpin reigned six years over the Scots, the Picts being destroyed. He, by wonderful cunning, led the Scots out of Argyle into the land of the Picts.

DCCCLVIII. Cinaoh Mac Ailpin, kinge of Pihtes, and Adulf, king of Saxons, *mortui sunt*.*

situ Albaniae.—“Kinadius filius *Alpin* primus *Scottorum* rexit feliciter istam annis *sexdecim* Pictaviam. Pictavia, autem, à Pictis est nominata, quos, ut diximus, Kinadius delevit. Deus, enim, pro merito suæ malitiæ alienos ac otiosos hæreditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum deum, missum ac præceptum spreverunt, sed et in jure æquitatis aliis æqui pariter noluerunt.”

* *An. Ul.* “Mortuus est tumore ani [*Anglicè*, a fistula], idus Februarii feria tertia [*i. e.* Tuesday the 13th of February], in *Forthuirtabaicht*” [hodie *Forteviot*].

“Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kinedus,
Filius Alpini prælia multa gerens.
Expulsis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis;
Apud *Forteviot* mortuus ille fuit.”

Chro. clegiacum.

Caradoc places the death of “Cemoyth king of the Picts” in the preceding year.

DCCCLXII. Daniel Mac Ailpin, king of Pights, died.*

DCCCLXV. Tuahal Mac Artgusa, archbishop of Fortren, [*i. e.* of the Northern or Fifeshire Picts], and abbot of Duncallen (now Dunkeld), *dormivit*.†

——. Aulaw and his nobilitie went to Fortren [*i. e.* Pictland], together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland ; and spoiled all the Cruthers [Picts], and brought their hostages with them.‡

DCCCLXX. Aulaw and Ivar came again to

* *An. Ul.* This was Donald, the younger brother of Kenneth.

† *Ibi.*

‡ *Ibi.* *Cruthens*, the distinguishing appellative, in these annals, of the Irish Picts, seems, in this instance, to have, inadvertently, escaped the translator instead of *Pights* (or Picts of Albany): *Cruthne*, in the original Irish, being, in fact, common to both ; but the distinction, at the same time, every where observed, in the Latin part of these annals, between *Crutheni* and *Picti*, or *Pictones* ; as it is, likewise, in every other instance but the present, in the translation.

Dublin out of Scotland ; and brought with them great booties from Englishmen, Britons, and Pights, in their two hundred ships, with many of their people captives.*

DCCCLXXV. The cominge of the Pights upon the Black-Galls, where great slaughter of the Pights was had. Ostin Mac Aulaw, king of Normans, was falsely killed *per Albanos*.†

——. [Paganorum] exercitus Hreopedene deserens, in duas se dividit turmas ; cujus altera pars cum Healfdene in regionem Northanhymbrorum perrexit, et ibi hyemavit juxta flumen quod dicitur Tine ; et totam Northanhymbrorum regionem suo subdidit dominio ; nec non et Pictos et Strat-Clutenses depopulati sunt.‡

▪ *Ibi.*

† *Ibi.* They add, by interlineation, “ per dolum occisus est.” The *Blacke-Galls* (literally, *The black foreigners*) were the Normans, or Northmen, Danes or Norwegians : as *Fin-Gall*, or *The white strangers*, were the English-Irish. See these annals at the year 1034.

‡ Asserius, p. 27. See, likewise, Ethelwerdus, p. 844 ;

— The army of the Pagans [quitting] Repton, divided itself into two troops; of which one part marched with Halfden, into the region of the Northumbrians, and there took his winter-quarters near the river which is called Tyne; and subjected the whole region of the Northumbrians to his dominion: they, likewise, depopulated both the Picts and the Strath-Clydians.

DCCCLXXVI. Constantin Mac Cinaoh, rex Pictorum [mortuus est].*

DCCCLXXVI. Constantine, son of Kenneth, king of the Picts, died.

H. Huntingdoniensis, p. 349; and Ushers *Antiquitates*, p. 375. “At this time,” says Carádoc, (in the year, that is, 871,) “the Danes destroyed the towne of Alclyde . . . and one king or leader of them tooke the countrie of Northumberland, and he and his people did much trouble the Pictes.”

* *An. Ul.*

DCCCLXXVIII. Hugh Mac Cinaoh, rex Pictorum, à sociis suis occisus est.*

DCCCLXXVIII. Hugh, son of Kenneth, king of the Picts, killed by his companions.

DCCCCIV. Ivar Ohivar killed by the men of Fortren, with a great slaughter about him.†

DCCCCXXXVII. Facta est [ab Æthelstano rege Anglorum] pugna immanis barbaros contra in loco Brunandune, unde et vulgo usque ad præsens

* *Ibi.* “Ed Mac Kinet uno anno [regnavit]. Interfectus in bello in Strathalin, à Girg [f. Grig] filio Dungal.” *Nomina regum.*

† *Ibi.* “The Saxon chronicle,” according to mr Pinkerton, “says that, in 924, Edward the elder went to *Bedecanwillan* in PIKLAND, where he built a strong town on the borders” (*Enquiry*, II. 217): a striking proof of gross ignorance, or wilful falsification. The “Badecanwyllan on Peace-lond” of the Saxon chronicle, is a place now called *Bakewell*, in the PEAK (not PIK) OF DERBY SHIRE; a famous place, and built by Edward the elder, as Camden says from Marianus. See the original passage. and Gibsons *Nominum locorum explicatio.*

bellum prænominatur magnum : tum superantur barbaræ passim turbæ nec ultra dominari, post quos ultra pellit oceani oris, nec non colla subdunt Scoti pariterque Picti, uno solidantur Britannidis arva.*

* Ethelwerdus, L. 4, c. 5. “ Complevit dies suos inclytus rex Edwardus, Ethelstanus que filius ejus successerat. Contra quem cum Analaphus filius Sitrici, quondam regis Northanhumbriorum, insurgeret, et bellum ferocissimum multorum viribus moliretur, conspirantibusque cum dicto Analapho Constantino rege Scotorum, et Eugenio rege Cumbriorum, ac aliorum regum comitumque barbarie infinita, omnes cum subjectis nationibus at *Brunford* in Northanhumbria contra Athelstanum regem convenissent, artissimo fœdere conjurati, et dictus rex Anglorum cum suo exercitu occurrisset : licet præfatus barbarus infinitam multitudinem Danorum, Noreganorum, Scotorum, ac Pictorum contraxisset, vel vincendi diffidentia, vel gentis suæ versutia maluit nocturnis tenebris insidias tendere, quam aperto prælio dimicare. Irruit ergo subito super Anglos nocturno tempore ; . . . cum clamor morientium longius personaret, ut rex ipse, qui plus uno milliari à loco distabat, suusque totus exercitus qui circa illum in teneriis sub dio dormiebat, evagilans atque intelligens citius armarentur aurora jam illuscescente, ad locumque cædis appropinquans paratus et promptus fieret ad invadendum contra barbaros, qui tota nocte laboraverant, et jam lassos et laxatos ab ordine offendentem contigit regem Ethelstanum, qui Westsaxones omnes ducebat, contra aciem Analaphi occurrisse, ac cancellarium suum Turketulum, qui Londonienses, et omnes Mercios trahebat, contra aciem Constantini obviasse : . . . Cumque diutissimè ac dirissimè dimicaretur et neutra pars cederet, cancellarius Turketulus, assumptis secum paucis Londoniensibus, quos fortissimos noverat, et centurione Wicciorum Singino

DCCCCXXXVII. A cruel battle is fought by Athelstan, king of the English, against the barbarians in the place [called] Brunandune [otherwise, Brunanbyrig, or Brunburgh], whence, also, vulgarly, it is, at present, surnamed the great battle : then are the barbarous multitudes everywhere vanquished, nor further to domineer, whom, afterward, he drives beyond the coasts of the sea ; the Scots, also, as well as the Picts, lay down their necks, and the fields of Britain are consolidated.

nomine . . . pervius ipse involat in adversos ; penetransque cuneos hostiles prosternit à dextris et à sinistris. Jam Orcadensium, ac Pictorum globos pertransierat, . . . jam cuneos Cumbrorum ac Scotorum cum suis sequacibus perforabat.” Ingulphus, p. 877. The Scottish, or Pictish, king, Constantine, was slain in this battle ; and, upon his death, Anlaf and his army took to flight. See more of it in the *Annals of Cumberland*.

* * * After this period no mention is ever made of the Picts by any historian, except what will be found, some centuries later, in the “Annals of Galloway.” In some laws, indeed, of William the conqueror, printed by Lambarde and Selden, this people is spoken of as still existing, and even among the subjects of the royal legislator: “Statuimus imprimis super omnia . . . pacem, et securitatem, et concordiam, judicium, et justitiam inter Anglos et Normannos Francos et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, PICTOS et SCOTOS Albania, similiter inter FRANCOS, &c.” But the spuriousness and forgery of these pretended laws, which are, by no means, the only ones of that description of which both English and Scots make their boast, entitles them to nothing but ridicule and contempt.

APPENDIX.

NAMES AND SUCCESSION OF THE PICTISH KINGS

From the commencement of the fifth century.

Began to reign.

- 406. Drust I. the son of Erp or Wirp.*
- 451. Talorc I. the son of Aniel.
- 455. Nechtan I. surnamed Morbet, the son of Erp.
- 480. Drust II. surnamed Gurthinmoch.

* The *Cronica de origine Pictorum*, and other authorities, give the names of 36 kings, predecessors of this Drust, but as their reigns cannot, without the utmost violence of conjecture, be reduced to chronology, if, in fact, all, or any of them, ever existed, it will be sufficient to mention them in this note : Cruidne, or Cruithne, the son of Cinge, or Kinne, father of the Picts dwelling in this island ; Circui, Fidaich, Fortreim, Floclaid, Got, Cecircum, Fibaid (his seven sons :) Gedeolgudach, Denbacan, Olfincta, Guididgaedbrecach, Gestgurtich, Wurgest, Brudebout (who had thirty sons of the name of Brude, which reigned 150 years in Ireland and Albany) ; Gilgid, Tharan, Morleo, Deocilunan, Cimoiod the son of Arcois ; Deord, Blicibliterith, Dectoteric brother of Diu ; Usconbutis ; Carvorst ; Devartavois ; Uist ; Ru ; Garmaithboc, Vere, Breth son of Butlut, Vipoignamcht, Canutulachma, Wraddech vechta, Gar-naichdi uber, Talorc son of Achivis.

Began to reign.

510. Galananetelich.
 522. Dadrust.
 523. Drust III. the son of Girom.
 524. The same, with
 Drust IV. the son of Udrust
 529. Drust III. (alone.)
 534. Gartnach I. the son of Girom.
 541. Gailtram, the son of Girom.
 542. Talorc II. the son of Muircholaich.
 553. Drust V. the son of Munait.
 554. Galem I. the son of Cenaleph.
 555. The same, with Brudei.
 556. Brudei I. the son of Melchon.
 586. Gartnach II. the son of Domelch.
 597. Nechtan II. the nephew (or grandson)
 of Erp.
 617. Kenneth I. the son of Lutrin.
 636. Gartnaich III. the son of Wid.
 640. Brudei II. the son of Wid.
 645. Talorc III. their brother.
 657. Talorgan, the son of Anfrith.
 661. Gartnach, [IV.] the son of Donncl.
 667. Drust VI. his brother.
 674. Brudei III. the son of Bili.
 695. Taran, the son of Entifidich.
 699. Brudei IV. the son of Derili.

Began to reign.

710. Nechtan III. the son of Derili.
 725. Drust VII. and Alpin reigned together.
 730. Hungus I. the son of Wirgust.
 761. Brudei V. the son of Wirgust.
 763. Kenneth, the son of Wirdech.
 775. Alpin, the son of Wroid.
 779. Drust VIII. the son of Talorgan.
 783. Talorgan, the son of Hungus.
 786. Conal, the son of Tarla.
 791. Constantine, the son of Wrgust.
 821. Hungus, the son of Wrgust.
 833. Drust, [IX.] the son of Constantine,
 and Talorgan, the son of Uthoil, reigned
 together.
 836. Ewen, the son of Hungus.
 839. Wrad, the son of Bargoit.
 Kenneth Mac-Alpin, king of Scots.
 842. Bred, or Bruidei.
 843. Kenneth Mac-Alpin, king of Albany.

* * * The under-mentioned kings are unnoticed in
 the *Cronica Pictorum*, or old Scottish lists :

Cenelath [Kenneth], died in 579. *An. Ul.*
 Bruidei ; slain by the sons of Aodhain
 628. *Ibi.*

Elpin ; died 736. *Caradoc.*

Talorgan Mac Drostan, king of Ahafoitle ; died 738. *An. Ul.*

Duvtalarg, *rex Pictorum citra Monah*, died 781. *Ibi.*

Lists of the kings both of the Scots and of the Picts, more ancient at least, than those of Fordun and Wytown, are inserted in the *Scala Chronica*, written about 1365. V. Leland, *Col. I.* 538.

APPENDIX. No. II.

 ANNALS OF THE CRUTHENS OR
 IRISH PICTS.*

From the Annales Ultonienses, or Annales of Ulster.

Sloan MSS.

DLXIII. THE battle of Moindore-Lothair upon

* These Picts, or Cruithens, appear to have been settled in part of the province of Ulster; and, according to O'Conor's map, in Donegal. He places another colony of them in Connaught and Galway. (See his *Dissertations*, a very fanciful, at the same time, and ridiculous book, p. 179, and Pinkertons *Enquiry I.* 337.) They are frequently mentioned in Adomnans Life of St Columba, and in the ancient legends of St Patrick, where they are, uniformly, distinguished from the Picts of Albany, or North Britain, by the peculiar appellation of Cruthinii, Crutheni, or Cruithnei. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 188. The æra of their original settlement, or whence they came, is equally uncertain, as in the case of their Albanian fellow-countrymen. According to the *Cronica Pictorum*, thirty kings of the name of Brudei, descendants of Brudebout,

the Cruhens,* by the Nells of the north. Bædan Mac-Cin, with two [other chiefs] of the Cruhens, fought it against the rest of the Cruhens. The cattle and booty of the Eolargs were given to them of Tirconnell and Tirowen, conductors, for their leading, as wages.

DLXXIV. Bellum Tola et Tortola, in regionibus Cruithne.

DCXXIX. Bellum Fedha Evin, in quo Maiolcaich Mac-Skanlain, rex Cruithne, victor fuit: ceciderunt Dalriada: Coin Ceni rex Dalriada cecidit.†

reigned over Ireland and Albany for the space of 150 years. All the Picts obtained the name of Cruithne from that of their first king, whom that old Chronicle calls, “Pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula,” and makes to reign 100 years.

* The *t* is obliterated by the copyist, improperly, it would seem. This was the battle of Mona Dar, or Ordemone; of which St Columbkil, being at the court of Connal MacComgil, king of the British Scots, gave that monarch an exact narrative the very day and hour it was fought: prophesying, moreover, how Echniuslaid, king of the Cruithens, being conquered, sitting in his chariot, had escaped. See *Annales Scottorum*, ad an.

† “Malcæcus filius Scandalii Cruthiniorum seu Pictorum, de stirpe Hiri Dynasta adversus Connadium Kerr Dalriada regem in prælio ad Feaoin victor. In quo occubuerunt Dicollus rex generis Pictorum; Rigallanus ex Conango, Falbeus ex Achaio

DCXLV. Loceni Mac-Finin, king of Crinthur, [f. Cruithne,] obiit.

DCXLVI. The wounding of Scannal Mac-Becca Mac-Fiachrach, regis Cruithne.

DCLXVI. Mors Maolcasich Mac-Skannail [king] of the Cruithis. Maolduin Eoch Jarlaith, rex Cruithne, moritur.

DCLXVIII. Bellum Fersti, betweene Ulster and the Cruithens, ubi cecidit Cathasach Mac-Lurgeni.

DCLXXIII. Mors Scannlain Mac-Fingni regis OMeith, (again in 674 [675].)

DCLXXXI. Combustio regni in Dun,* viz. Dungall Mac-Scannail, rex Cruithne, &c.

DCLXXXII. Bellum Rathmore apud Magh-line, † contra Britones; ubi cecidit Cæsathasao Mac-Maileidum, rex Cruithne; and Ultan the sonne of Dicolla; et jugulatus Muirin Ammaon.

duo Aidani regis, et Ostricus filius Albruit Saxenicus princeps cum magna aliorum strage.’’ Tigernac. (*Ogygia*, p. 477.) The father of this king was, probably, that Scandlanus filius Colmanni, who, being kept in chains by Hugh, king of Ireland, was visited by St Columb. See Adom. l. l. c. 11.

* Q. Doon in the county of Limerick? The names of many places in Ireland begin with Dun.

† There are two places of this name, one in the county of Carlow, the other in Meath.

DCXCII. Dalrada populati [r. depopulati] sunt by the Cruithenes and Ulster.

DCCVIII. Canis Cuarain, rex Cruithne, jugulatio.

DCCX. Jugulatus Fiachia Mac-Dungarte à Cruithne.

DCCXXXI. Bellum inter Cruithne et Dalriada, at Marbuilg, ubi Cruithne devicti.

DCCXLI. Bellum Droma Cathvaoil, inter Cruithne et Dalriada by Jurechtach.

DCCXLIX. Jugulatio Cathasai Mac-Aillila, ut Ruhbehech, * king of the Cruithines.

DCCLVI. Combustio Cille-more, by the tribe of Crimthan [f. Cruithen.]

DCCLXXIV. Flahruo Mac-Fiachrach, rex Cruine [f. Cruithne], mort[uus est.]

DCCCVIII. The killing of Hugh Mac-Conor, and [f. in] the land of Cova, † by the Cruihins. ‡

* * * The Irish Picts which the Brytains called Y Gwydhyl Phictiaid, did overrunne the ile of

* Fortè Rusky bridge, in the County of Roscommon.

† Cove is a village in the county of Cork.

‡ It is not certain that Cruihins is always mistakenly written for Cruithens, as there was a clan of O Criohains, which, likewise, had a king.

Môn,* and were driven thence by Caswallon Lhawhîr, that is, Caswallon with the long hand, who slew Serigi their king with his owne hands, a Lhan y Gwydhyl, which is, the Irish-church at Holihead. †

Saint Patrick, who died in 492, aged 120, in his epistle to Coroticus, a Welsh king, repeatedly mentions these Picts. (See Wares *S. Patricii opuscula*, p. 27, 28.

* Anglesey.

† Sir John Prise's "Description of Wales," prefixed to *The Historie of Cambria*, c. [158], p. 14.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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